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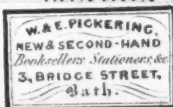
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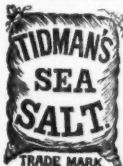
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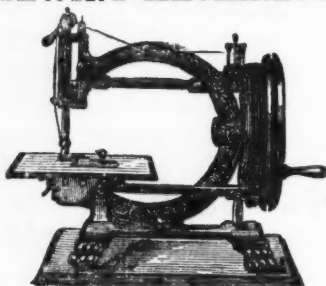
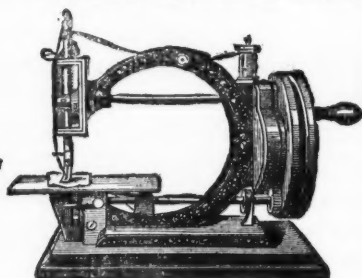
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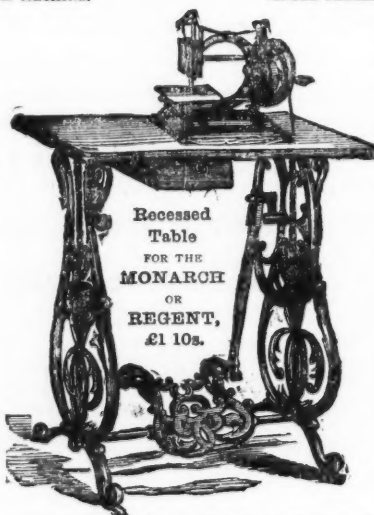
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THE
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Nº I. OCTOBER 1875.

ART. I.—ITALY AND HER CHURCH.

1. *Discorsi del Presidente del Consilio, Marco Minghetti, sulla Politica Ecclesiastica.* Roma, Tip. Botta, 1875.
2. *Discorso del Deputato C. Tommasi-Crudeli sulle Relazioni dello Stato colla Chiesa.* Roma, Tip. Botta, 1875.
3. *Discorso del Deputato Guerrieri-Gonzaga sulle Relazioni dello Stato colla Chiesa.* Roma, Tip. Botta, 1875.
4. *I Parroci Eletti e la Questione Ecclesiastica.* Di Carlo Guerrieri-Gonzaga. Firenze, Civelli, 1875.
5. *Lettera della Fabbriceria di S. Giovanni del Dosso al Sindaco di Quistello.* Mantova, Tip. Segna, 1873. Corresponding letters from Paludano, March, 1874, and Frassinò, March, 1874.
6. *Statuto Dogmatico-Organico-Disciplinare della Chiesa Cattolica Nazionale Italiana.* Napoli, Morano, 1875.
7. *Otto Mesi a Roma, durante il Concilio Vaticano.* Per Pomponio Leto. Firenze, Le Monnier, 1873.
8. *Cenni Biografici Documentati di Monsig. Domenico Panelli, Arcivescovo Cattolico di Lydda.* Estratto dal Periodico *L'Emancipatore Cattolico*, Anno xiv. No. 15.
9. *Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato: Genesi della Formola Cavouriana.* Di Guido Padelletti. Estratto della Nuova Antologia. Firenze, Luglio, 1875.

LET no susceptibilities, Puritan, Protestant, Anglican, or other, be startled if we observe that Rome is and may long be, in some important respects, the centre of the Christian world. It is indeed a centre which repels as well as attracts ; which

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B

probably repels even more than it attracts; but which, whether repelling or attracting, *influences*. It need not be feared; but it ought not to be overlooked: as the navigator fears not the tides, but yet must take account of them. It influences that wide Christendom in which England, with its Church, is but an insulated though not an inconsiderable spot. The political power of England is great; but its religious influence is small. The sympathies even of non-conforming England with continental Protestantism are, and must be, partial: the dominant tone and direction of the two are far from identical. The Church, though in rather more free contact than our Nonconforming bodies with the learning of Protestant Germany, is of course more remote from its religious tendencies. The Latin communion forces the Church of England more and more into sharp antagonism: and we are only beginning to sound the possibilities of an honourable but independent relation of friendship with the East. In matter of religion, poetry might still with some truth sing of the *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. We have of all nations the greatest amount perhaps of religious individuality, certainly of religious self-sufficiency. A moral as well as a natural sea surrounds us, and at once protects and isolates us from the world. But this is of course in a sense which is comparative, not absolute. The electric forces which pervade the Christian atmosphere touch us largely, outer barbarians though we be; and they touch us increasingly. And a multitude of circumstances make us aware that, if we are at least as open to criticism as our neighbours, yet we have like them a part to play in Christendom, and a broad field to occupy with our sympathies, under the guidance of such intelligence as we may possess.

In the endeavour to discuss the scope and limits of this field, we should above all things beware of the temptation to exact from others either the adoption, or even the exact appreciation, of our insular and national peculiarities. Community of first principles is that for which we needs must look, not identity in the form of development. Now, in the religion of the Reformed English Church, the conservation of authority is a first principle, and the restoration of freedom and of the respect due to the individual conscience is another: and if there be anything, claiming the name and dignity of a first principle, which it has been specifically and more than others given to the Church of England to uphold, it has been the maintenance in their just combination of these two great vital forces, and the endeavour to draw from their contact an harmonious result.

Let us now, turning our eyes towards Italy, inquire whether we have anything, or anything special, to do with it in reference to the religious question which lies so perilously near its seat of national life. And first, Italy is the country, in the very heart of which has been planted that ominous phenomenon, unparalleled in history, the Temporal Power of the Popedom. In the claim of the Latin Church to territorial sovereignty, the nations of Europe generally may be thought not to have any other than a secondary concern. But for Italy it is palpably matter of life and death. We do not enter into the question whether any of the possibilities of the past years would have permitted the co-existence of a solid Italian nationality together with a Popedom exercising temporal dominion. It doomed her to the weakness and dishonour of existing only in fractions. If the head was to be independent of the body, the members of the body loved also to be independent one of another. The subtle observant intelligence of Macchiavelli, and more than two centuries before him, the vast, all-embracing genius of Dante, saw in the Triregno the bane of their country. It seems as though their prophetic insight had been fully vindicated by the picture we now behold, where the Pope-King and the National-King, confronting one another on the same spot of ground, represent an incompatibility that cannot be overcome or softened. Italy must cease to be a nation, or the Papacy must consent to the mutilation of the triple crown.

So far as this problem is one of material forces, it seems to depend primarily on Italy herself. And in this view it has been settled, settled, with a settlement taken to be final. But it does not depend wholly or ultimately on Italy. There is a doctrine which had at one time the countenance even of Montalembert, and which we do not know that he ever retracted. According to this doctrine, all members of the Latin communion, dispersed throughout the world, are invested with a right of proper citizenship in Italy, which deprives the people of that Peninsula of the right to dispose of their own soil, and which authorises this fictitious entity, this non-resident majority, to claim that in the very heart of the Peninsula a territory shall be set apart from their jurisdiction, for the purpose of subserving the spiritual interests of Roman Catholics and of their Church. The votaries of this doctrine hold with perfect consistency, that such a right, being one of proper citizenship, may be enforced by the sword. Nor is this a mere opinion of the schools. Neither is it a tradition which, having once lived, is now dead. In 1848, the people of the Papal

State overthrew the sacerdotal government, constituted themselves into a Republic, and evinced every disposition to keep the peace, and to respect the rights of neighbours. But the swords of four States were at once drawn upon them, France, Austria, Spain, and the Kingdom of Naples, upon the preposterous plea of being invested, as Catholic nations, with a title to dispose of the civil interests of several millions of men, put down the free State in 1849. The operations of Naples and of Spain were feeble and insignificant. The interventions of Austria, due in great part to her false position as the mistress of Lombardy and Venetia, reached their final term many years ago, and nothing can be more unlikely than their renewal. But France, which had no territorial interest to defend, and which is supposed to be rather more exempt than any country in Europe from the weaknesses not only of enthusiasm, but of belief, maintained by sheer force the Papal throne until the exigencies of the German crisis compelled her in 1870 to evacuate Civit  Vecchia. May she not, or can she not, ever do this again? A question of vast and profound interest to Europe, and one of those questions, to the cry of which England cannot altogether shut her ears.

Certain it is that France can never perform the same operation with the same ease, as in 1849. At that time Italy had no friend among the nations, except England. Even in England, sentiment was far from being united. The Conservative party, even as it was represented in its most liberal members, such as Lord Aberdeen, was opposed to the popular sentiment of Italy; and to this division it may have been owing that Lord Palmerston, who sympathized warmly with that sentiment, and refused to admit the doctrine that England had, as a Protestant Power, no title to act in the matter, nevertheless confined himself to contending that the Papal Government should, upon its restoration, be reformed, and the spiritual authority severed from the powers and institutions of the State.¹ Russia had the spectre of Poland in her eye, and was associated in all European questions with the anti-popular and anti-national cause. Prussia, at that time, considered herself to be so bound by German sympathies, as to hold that the possession of the Quadrilateral² by the Emperor of Austria was a German interest. It was therefore easy for France to subjugate by sheer force the Roman people; and, at the price of this unwarrantable act,

¹ Phillimore's *International Law*, vol. ii. p. 501.

² The name, now happily almost forgotten, was given to the four fortresses of Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago.

the government of Louis Napoleon, then President, purchased the Ultramontane support, which upheld him on his way to the Second of December, and so turned a wavering scale in his favour as to give him the Imperial throne.

The face of Europe has now, in this as in other respects, undergone a great change. Italy is endowed with the sense, the responsibility, and the power of national existence; and, though still beset by the gravest financial difficulties, cannot without a struggle submit to disintegration. Neither Austria nor Russia are any longer her enemies. Germany, victorious over France in a single-handed fight, has been and is her friend; and is bound by the strongest considerations of self-interest to assist her against any attempt to restore the Papal throne by means of foreign force. This audacious claim is, indeed, not the only claim of Vaticanism, which menaces the civil rights and order of Christendom. But it is the only one which directly and immediately betrays its purpose, and the restoration by a French army of the Temporal Power would unquestionably compromise the very existence of the German Empire.

Add to this, that France has no just or real interest in the accomplishment of this flagitious design. Nor is it sanctioned by the general sense of her people. There is no reason to doubt that the great majority of them view it, on the merits, with decided disapproval. But then there is no reason to suppose that the general sense of Frenchmen was favourable to the act of violence committed in 1849. The Ultramontane sect evidently directed it. The support of that sect was necessary to give a majority to Napoleonism; and the Government, once installed, carried the reluctant country with it into the war, even as, on the later and greater occasion of 1870, she was precipitated into the destructive strife with Germany, from motives mostly identical on the part of the projectors. France, with all her wonderful, and in many respects unrivalled gifts, has yet, after a ninety-years' apprenticeship, to learn the first lessons of the alphabet of political freedom; and her relation to the candidates for her government was well illustrated by Montalembert as that of a railway train, with the steam up and all things ready, waiting only for the driver of the engine, when he who can first step up becomes, and for the time, remains, absolute master of the situation.

That powerful setting of the current of human motive and inclination, which we ill term Fate, seems to determine France towards another deadly contest with Germany for the

hegemony of the Continent. No doubt her words, and, what is more, her thoughts to-day are those of peace; but her under-thought, so to speak, the embryo of her mind in the future, which waits for its development, and for an atmosphere to live in, is war: war for recovery, perhaps more than for supremacy. When the time of that terrible war shall arrive, the very instinct of nature will teach her to strengthen herself by association with all the elements congenial to her purpose. Now such an association can hardly arise in the normal shape of alliance between State and State. Under this head she may possibly reckon, according to general appearances, upon the sympathy of Spain. But a country which after having risen so high has sunk so low, and which resembles France at present only in its incapacity of self-government, can count for little. The true ally of France will be an ally without a name; it will be the Ultramontane minority which pervades the world; which triumphs in Belgium; which brags in England; which partly governs and partly plots in France; which disquiets, though without strength to alarm, Germany and Austria; which is weaker perhaps in Italy than in any of those countries; but which is everywhere coherent, everywhere tenacious of its purpose, everywhere knows its mind, follows its leaders, and bides its time. This minority, which hates Germany and persecutes Italy, will by a fatal and inevitable attraction be the one fast ally of France, if ever France be again so far over-mastered by her own internal foes, as to launch again upon a wild career of political ambition wearing the dishonourable and fictitious garb of religious fanaticism. Thus, then, there are two great forces which, when the occasion comes, will menace peace: the political resentment and self-recovering energy of France, which has Germany for the object of its hostility; and the venomous ambition of Curialism, determined to try another fall before it finally renounces its dream of temporal dominion, which drives at Italy. And these two may, in ill-assorted wedlock, even while hating one another all the time, band themselves together, in pursuit of their entirely distinct objects, by a common and identical line of action.

Ever since Italy, not wholly by her own might, achieved her national unity, her successive governments seem to have cast beside and behind them, as evil dreams, all these dark speculations on the future. In this course of proceeding, they have probably represented and reflected, with general accuracy, the sentiment if not of the nation, yet of the governing classes

of the nation. That such a sentiment should have had currency in Italy is among the most singular phenomena of the day. Germany and Austria, which are not menaced by the claims of Vaticanism, except in common with all civilized nations, have deemed it needful to defend themselves, by regulative or repressive laws, against the encroachments of ecclesiastical power. But Italy has pursued the negative or neutral course. She stands by, and folds her arms. And yet she is the country whose very heart it is the fixed desire and design of the Roman Curia, and of its abettors throughout Christendom, to tear out of its bleeding body, for the purpose of erecting anew the fabric of the Temporal Power now crumbled in the dust. This indifference towards the Church, in the sphere of religion, has been accompanied to some extent with severity, and even with harshness, at its point of contact with property which could be made available for the needs of the State. But let us for the present contemplate it by itself, and give it the examination which, in the view of history and philosophy, it so well deserves.

The indifference of Italy, then, to Papal claims is in our view due to her proximity to the local source from whence they proceed ; and springs partly from the knowledge, partly from the illusions, which belong to that proximity. The master spirit of Dante, near six hundred years ago, knew how to distinguish between the Curia or Popedom, with its surrounding organization, and the Christian religion as professed in the Western Church. But this privilege and power of discrimination was committed only to the highest minds. Even for Dante it would probably have been far more difficult now to make this great distinction, to denounce his Antichrist without losing hold of his Beatrice, his embodied Christianity, than it was at the period when he lived. At any rate, as matter of fact, it is undeniable that, among the governing classes of Italians, this distinction has not, from 1860 onwards, been effectually drawn. Profligacy, corruption, and ambition have, unitedly and severally, done their destructive work, through the Curia and the Papal chair ; and in doing it they of course have heavily tainted the faith of which that chair was the guardian. For a long time the principle of belief remained so vigorous in Christendom, that it was able to bear up against these terrible deadweights, and yet to retain its buoyancy. But, as its inward energies declined, it gradually became unequal to sustaining the unnatural burden : its power of floatation, to use a nautical term, became less and less. The ill-starred alliance between Curialism and the Dogma could not

be dissolved. Curialism long lived upon the credit of the Dogma : from the educated mind of Italy the Dogma has now been largely effaced, in the discredit and repudiation of Curialism.

Therefore it is that the peculiar indifference of Italy is due partly to its special knowledge, partly to its besetting illusions. She has lived with Dagon at her centre : she has been able daily to see, hear, touch and handle him : she has taken the measure of his pretensions : she knows the materials he is made of. Of interdicts and excommunications she has had the largest experience ; and, though feared elsewhere, they have lost their terrors for her and for her children. Every thunderbolt of the Vatican, as it was launched to whatever point of the compass, has passed before her eye ; and familiarity has bred contempt. She knows that the Œcumenical Council of Trent has excommunicated all who lay hands on the Temporal Power ; and she feels herself no worse, but rather the better, for the excommunication. Strong in her sense of national right and independence, in the high endowments of her people, and, to a far greater extent than is commonly known, in the enduring vitality of her local institutions, she has no fears of aught that may betide her while walking along the road of national dignity and duty, and asserting her infeasible title to an equal share of the common rights of men.

All this is well ; and, as to the substance of the issue raised, she is wholly right, the Roman Church is grossly wrong. We cannot deny that, here and there, the Italian State may have used its undoubted right with accidental harshness. The secularization of the property of the Religious Orders has been of necessity a more or less rude, though highly needful, operation. It would require a very minute knowledge to pronounce in detail upon the complaints raised in their behalf. But there is one case of Italian legislation, which hardly admits of doubt. We learn with some surprise that the Italian clergy, even when having cure of souls, are not excepted from the obligations of the military conscription. This is deplorable. The exemption is allowed in Germany. It is required not by policy so much as by decency. We trust, and we feel convinced, that no long time will be suffered to elapse without an alteration of the law in this respect. But if we turn our eyes away from this ugly spot, we find much to praise in the admirable toleration and patience of the Italian State. The licence which has been allowed to vituperation and to seditious language, when used by the ministers of religion and their organs, might by some be ascribed to chivalry run mad. But it is really founded in

wisdom : in the indisposition to multiply issues of detail when a great principle is at stake, and in the full knowledge of the traditional capacity of the Italian people to estimate Curial menace and abuse at its true and very moderate value.

The great principle which Italy takes for the sheet-anchor of her Church policy is, the separation of the Church from the State. It was Cavour who first gave authoritative utterance to the doctrine in the shape of a formula, now most famous, *Libera Chiesa in libero Stato*. In considering the adoption and the application of this formula, let us before all things put aside the disposition to test it by the ideas and circumstances of England, or even by those of other European States. Let us even forget that England exists. It was for Cavour, in his business of nation-making, an absolute necessity. It was open to other countries to enter if they pleased upon the policy, although it be a slippery policy, of concordats, and to aim at adjusting by some written compact the relations of Church and State. Or it was open to them to proceed as Germany and Austria have recently proceeded, and in the teeth of the Pope to enforce by the law of the State what it deemed essential for full civil rights and duties. But Cavour, unlike them, had to begin with a proclamation of war against the Papal chair and the Curia, for the liberation of the Roman people by the extinction of the Temporal dominion. They had got their capitals; he wanted his. And he knew it could only be had by force. Logic and policy alike required that he should condemn the Temporal Power by recognizing the Church as a religious society, and should by the acknowledgment of its liberty in its own sphere give emphasis to his title to prevent it from enslaving men in a sphere not its own. Not a word of exception, then, can be justly taken against the principle announced by Cavour. But on the headlong application of that principle a different verdict may have to be pronounced. It is not necessary for our purpose to inquire whether the great Minister is responsible not only for the formula, but for the interpretation.¹

If the States of the Church had been enclosed within the territories of the great American Republic, it might have

¹ This question has been argued, with signal ability, by Professor Padelletti, in the tract which closes the list at the head of this paper. It would seem that his generous faith in the virtue and efficacy of liberty led Cavour to believe that it would either infect the Roman Court, or, if not, yet place the bishops and the Church in an attitude of defence. Yet he made reservations which, perhaps, may prove adequate. To the merely vulgar handling of the formula may be applied some striking words of

been as easy to apply, as it was to proclaim, the maxim of a free Church in a free State, even while putting down the Papal government and absorbing the territory. For in America the State has never had in its hands any part of what primarily belongs to the Church. In that country, before its great and needful emancipation, the rights of control over religious bodies, according to the constitution of the British Empire, had never been made over to the Colonial Government, and still belonged to the Imperial Legislature. Thus the fathers of the Republic found themselves free from the embarrassment of inheriting, along with their political independence, any powers and prerogatives properly ecclesiastical.

But in the countries of Europe it is not so. In one shape or another, the Regale pervades them all. And it is a power which cannot be regarded as simply external to the Church. Whatever its specific varieties, its main outlines have been everywhere the same. It uniformly embraced, among other matters, the most important rights either of patronage, or of a veto upon patronage, and thus possessed universally a command over episcopal appointments to such an extent as secured a very large influence in determining the characters of the persons chosen. In the States of Italy, now making up the united Kingdom, the civil power enjoyed, everywhere, as we believe, either the right to nominate the bishops for the Pope's approval, or the right to refuse and exclude them by withholding the *Exequatur*. It was also the patron of a large number of ecclesiastical benefices. Thus the State had its standing-ground actually established within the ecclesiastical precinct; and it discharged functions which essentially appertained to the equilibrium of powers within the Church, and as among her different orders. The mere withdrawal of the State from its legal and constitutional action could, therefore, supply no solution to the problem of a free Church in a free State, unless it included not merely the abandonment, but the proper disposal of the powers which were actually in its hands.

The ancient system of the government of the Church was a constitutional system of balanced powers. The bishop ordained, and in the Western Church instituted the clergy, but the people chose them; later on, the patron, ecclesiastical or

the Duke of Argyll: 'It seems almost a law that no utterance of original genius can long escape the fate of being travestied and turned to nonsense by those who take it up at second hand.'—*Contemporary Review*, July, 1875 (p. 363).

lay, in virtue of the endowment, came into the people's place or privilege. The bishop himself was elected by the clergy, with the concurrence of the people, or their assent. By degrees a state of things came about, in which, as far as Italy was concerned, the people had generally disappeared. Its powers and functions in appointing pastors and governors of the Church, together with those (for the most part) of the priesthood, had either been inherited by the State, or absorbed by the Pope. In England, lay influence is very largely maintained, among other modes, by lay patronage; but in Italy lay patronage is comparatively rare. Virtually these great powers were held principally by the Pope in the name of the Church, partly by the State on behalf of the people, and, to some extent, of the clergy. As the Pope's best title was that he acted for the prevention of secularism, so the State was undoubtedly a trustee for liberty; and the balance of powers, which was a fundamental law of government in the ancient Church, was, though in a strangely altered form, yet after a manner, and to a substantial extent, maintained. The question then arose, to whom was the State, in retiring from the sphere of ecclesiastical action, to make over these most important powers?

Surely, on every ground of principle the State, as a trustee, could not obtain a legitimate release, until it should have deposited elsewhere the powers it was about to surrender, in a manner agreeable to the spirit of its trust. If they were to remain simply derelict, they would be the object of a general scramble, resulting in chaos, or else, if there were one of the parties to the strife which was possessed of an effective organization, while the others were without it, they would assuredly become the prey of that party.

We are not without some means of illustrating, from the history of our own country, the very important issue thus raised. We, too, within the last few years, have witnessed the establishment, by regular legislative action, of a 'free Church in a free State.' The allusion, of course, is to the case of the Church formerly established by law in Ireland. In that country, the civil power, besides being patron of certain dignities and benefices, had the power of appointing bishops. It did not, as in England, nominate to the chapter, who are legally punishable if they do not elect, but whose choice is, notwithstanding, a moral choice, laden with the responsibilities of free and deliberate action. In Ireland, royal nomination at once placed the person designated in the position which, on this side of the Channel of St. George, he

holds only when bishop elect. He was in a condition to be confirmed and consecrated. Had the Crown, by the Irish Church Act of 1869, simply extinguished its own action in this matter, it would probably, or possibly, have been open to the archbishops of Ireland, at any rate to them with the aid of their suffragans, to appoint the successors to vacant sees, and thus to found something dangerously near to at least a theoretical absolutism. But the view taken by the British Legislature was that disestablishment did not extinguish right in the Church, and that the prerogative of appointing or nominating could not thus be left to take its chance. In the course of the measure through the House of Lords, that most acute legist, Lord Westbury, contended that Parliament was making a present of the governing power over the Church to a mob. But in truth it was given by the express words of the Act, not to a mob, but a community already constituted in three orders, to the bishops, clergy, and laity; and these were put in a condition by their joint action, as three orders jointly constituting an organized body, to make provision for themselves by voluntary contract. Thus the State, having been trustee for the people, and having theretofore given its authority to laws for the Church, both left her in a condition to pass such laws for herself, and took care that the people should be parties to those laws.

In Italy a different course has been pursued. The constitution of the Church rests, so far as the State is concerned, upon the statute of Guarantees. By this law, provision was made for the free action, security, and independence of the Supreme Pontiff, and made in a spirit not of justice only, but of lavish generosity, probably with the hope, to which, at least, it was honourable to cling, that by this liberal spirit, conjoined with the force of circumstances, the hard and obstinate spirit of the Curia would at length be brought to some kind of conformity. But another division of the law deals with appointments in the Church. The material portion of it runs as follows:—

‘XV. The Government renounces the right of apostolic *legazia* in Sicily, and the right of nomination or presentation in the grant of the major appointments throughout the kingdom.

‘The bishops shall not be required to swear fealty to the king.’

* * * *

‘XVI. The *Exequatur* and royal *Placet* are abolished, with every

¹ *Loi relative aux Garanties*, May 13, 1871: Florence, 1871. The French version, from which we translate and cite, has official authority.

other form of governmental assent to the publication and execution of the acts of ecclesiastical authority.'

Then follows a reservation, which we believe was not comprised in the original design; and which provides that, until a further legislative arrangement shall be made concerning Church property, the *Exequatur* and the royal *Placet* shall be kept alive, but so far only as regards the enjoyment of the temporalities whether of major or minor appointments. The parochial patronage of the Crown is kept alive, but this seems to be of comparatively limited range. Speaking generally, it appears that the civil power has kept its hold upon the *beneficium*, but has surrendered the *officium*; and the whole of the deep interest which the Christian people of Italy have in its right disposal, is handed over to the tender mercies of the ecclesiastical authority. Now, this, as we should contend, was a breach of trust. The share in Church appointments, which the State heretofore had held, should have been given back to the lower order of the clergy, and to the people in whose behalf it held that share.

But no such breach of trust was intended. When the subject of a trust has become absolutely worthless, the trustee is absolved from further duty in respect of it. When he supposes it thus to have lost all value, he will, of course, estimate his own duty as if the value was really exhausted. There is no denying the awkward fact, that the policy of Italian governments with regard to Church power, perhaps with regard to religion in general, has been founded upon an illusion alike palpable and mischievous. They cannot be acquitted of the charge of having betrayed the interests of the people in Church appointments, by leaving those appointments to the Pope and his agents; unless upon the ground, which seems to be the true ground, that they thought these offices had lost their importance, and the religion that they were to teach, its power. No rational man will quarrel, or take pains, except about things which live. In Italy, the crust of Curialism has so enveloped the Divine treasure of the Gospel, as to hide it from her most modern Parliaments and statesmen. Against Curialism they know themselves to be well defended by the good sense of the country; of the kernel that is within Curialism, so long had it been kept from their view, they have seemed to think they need take no account. Religion, they might have thought, if their thoughts are to be gathered from their actions, has played a great part in the past, but has no share in the future, of mankind. New powers and principles have come into action; science, experience,

art, culture, civil organization, have reached a bulk and maturity which displaces it from the rational and manly mind, and which will prevent any lack of it from being felt. Like an individual man, great when in his flower, but now decrepit, let religion, too, retire becomingly from the stage, and no longer offend us with what has been a subjective, if not an objective, reality, but what would now be only an imposture.

Such, if we set aside the theory of Ultramontaniam, which has certainly not been a direct agent in promoting this course, is the only theory which can justify the surrender of the entire government of the Church, and of the power to fill its offices without check, to the Pope and his agents. Unhappily there is other evidence that this theory has been powerfully operative in Italian policy. It is one thing to separate the Church from the State, it is another to separate religion from education and from life. There has been a tendency to this latter separation too. The Faculty of Theology has been extinguished in the Italian Universities. We do not doubt, that there may have been a multitude of difficulties connected with its maintenance. But surely it was worth while to encounter them, rather than to adopt a measure which denies to the lay student the means of obtaining scientific instruction respecting his religion; and which, as regards the clerical student, practically excludes him from the possibility of lay contact, and of knowledge of the social body, on and in which he is to act, as well as from the benefits of the higher education. This unhappy measure was not required by the religious divisions of the community, which have required and justified the erection of the University of London in our own time and country without a Faculty of Theology; for there are no such divisions. Setting aside a few purely sporadic efforts, all the religion that Italy possesses is religion according to the creed, and within the pale, of the Roman Church. By destroying these Faculties in the Universities, the shallow speculations and most irreflective desires of a certain school of Radicalism, long ago we trust repented of, were encouraged; but the most effective aid was given to the deeper designs of the Roman Court, which aims at nothing so sedulously, prizes nothing so highly, as the total removal of the clergy from the general open atmosphere of human life and thought. It was in the theological Faculties of the German Universities that that love of freedom was effectually fostered, which is encouraged by, if not inseparable from, devoted and scientific study. Not in them only had the fiction of infallibility been detected and denounced; but in

them only was the denunciation a living reality; in them alone was planted that centre of stout and enduring resistance which has made them a signal of rallying to the combatant, of shelter to the fugitive, of consolation to the fallen. Hefele as a bishop has given way; but Döllinger, Reinkens, and their friends, have stood their ground; and history may yet have to recognize in these professors a new and true Band of the Immortals.

It should never be forgotten that this strange dualism in religion, this contrast between a central body given over to the lust of power, and a system of doctrine, still fruitful (with all its drawbacks) of instruction, consolation, and inward renewal for mankind, is confined to the Latin Church. It does not exist among Protestant communions generally, in most of which the ministry has nothing whatever, except moral strength, to depend upon; while in the Wesleyan body, where the pastoral class is fortified with high constitutional powers, due to the spirit of Wesley, they have not sufficed to raise either their practical influence or their ecclesiastical standing to a higher level. It is not felt in the Anglican Church, where the disposition to any gross exaggeration of clerical power has never been operative beyond a narrow circle. It is nowhere discernible in the Oriental communions, where the clergyman is essentially a citizen, and of which the doctrinal aspect presents a closer approximation to Rome, though very far from an identity with it. It is, then, with regret and sympathy, but in no spirit of affected superiority, that we notice the misdirection in some respects, as we deem it, of Italian policy. In careful observation of the world and its life, we shall not rarely find that some of the errors, which are materially the gravest, are morally the least; or, in other and plainer words, that some of the greatest errors we commit are also the most excusable. Moreover, in the case before us, grave as would be the consequences of a blind tenacity, we are under the comforting persuasion that Italy herself has within herself the means of such recovery, as will effectually retrieve the ground that has been lost. In explaining the signs, which suggest and sustain this persuasion, we shall endeavour to show that the opinions given in the foregoing pages have not been merely the officious observations of foreign criticism, but have had high and weighty countenance in Italy itself, and are not without the promise of becoming the great regulating influence of her policy in the future.

The condition of things which we have deprecated is, it

will be remembered, a condition of Papal, or rather Curial, absolutism within the Church. In the abstract, this is secured by the declarations of the Vatican Council. To give it effect, nothing more is required than these two very simple arrangements, that the Pope should everywhere appoint the bishops, and the bishops everywhere, or as a rule, the clergy; of their own free will and motion in the two cases respectively, without check or participation from without. And this is the course which, in the main, has been pursued in Italy until a very recent date.

We have not yet dwelt upon the important reservation under which the *Exequatur* and the *Placet* were still kept alive so far as the temporalities of the Church were concerned. The rights of the clergy and people, and of the State on their behalf, extended, indeed, far beyond temporalities. Still, the temporalities were a handle by means of which, when properly used, much of what had been let fall might be recovered. Until a recent period, however, very little use had been made of this instrument. We take the facts from the able speeches of Signor Minghetti, who holds the office of President of the Council, or Prime Minister of Italy. In referring to this distinguished person and his government, we beg it to be understood that we do not presume to charge upon them any special or separate responsibility. They have been acting as their predecessors apparently had acted, and both alike, it is fair to state, have reflected the spirit of the legislative body and of the classes who there, as here, practically determine the ordinary direction of the policy of the day. Indeed, it is to them that we look with confidence to avail themselves of the fresh vital forces which have been exhibited in the country, and of the co-operative disposition which the Chamber has rather energetically manifested. Let us now hear the facts as they are given by the Minister:—

'Since the law on Guarantees was promulgated,¹ there have been nominated by the Pope 135 bishops, and 15 coadjutor bishops with right of succession, that is to say, in all 150. Of these, how many have, directly or indirectly, asked for the *Exequatur*? We shall see farther on, the mode in which it has been asked. It was asked by 94. What has the Government done in these 94 cases? It has granted 28, it has refused 65; one is not yet disposed of'—(p. 13).

The Minister proceeds to explain that, in all these 28 cases,

¹ That is to say, within four years. The Minister spoke on May 7, 1875.

the several Papal Bulls, or a part of them, always including the Bull of nomination, had been presented to the Government. In two cases they were presented by the Bishop himself: in eight by the Chapters, or by portions of them; in seventeen, by the Syndic of the Commune, with other individuals; in one only, by a private person, who, however, was also a Deputy. The concurrence of the Bishop was exacted in all the cases, and his recognition of the Royal Government. In giving the *Exequatur* and the *Placet*, it is, so the Minister holds, the business of the Government to have regard to the qualities of the person designated, the consent, express or tacit, of the diocese, and the general opinion of the country. He goes on to defend the conduct of the Government in respect to the 28 *Exequaturs* issued.

Signor Minghetti had on this occasion to perform a duty which often devolves on the Ministers of this country: to defend the Chamber, in effect, against itself. The Government in Italy is loyally chosen by the Sovereign, as it is chosen here. Its ecclesiastical policy was, there is no reason to doubt, a reflection of their will: and all was calm. But when a breeze arises, and the air is stirred, and those who represent the movement present a case difficult to answer, the Chamber forgets its moral identification with the Minister in what has previously happened, and leaves him, at least until the voting comes, to bear with little aid the brunt of the attack. Often a representative body is in truth culprit as well as judge. But, in defending the positive action of the Government, the Minister passed lightly and in silence over what it had not done; and he was careful to acknowledge the unfulfilled obligation to propose a complementary law (pp. 20, 21). He went further. He declined indeed, and wisely declined, to undertake a religious reform. But he affirmed that the civil power had already become more stringent in its procedure, and felt the touch of the breath of popular opinion. When the promised measure is introduced—

‘Then will be the opportunity to observe whether, without direct encouragements, without instigation from the Government, there exists in the flocks of the Church such a spirit of initiative, such a vivacity of religious sentiment, as to cause them to resume those rights, which in other times the laity so highly prized’ (p. 21).

We believe that Italy would fall into a grave error were she to force upon her Government a policy of interference in religious affairs. But what may be fairly expected of it is that, as it surrenders its inherited powers, it shall proceed on

some orderly and well-considered plan, which shall restore them to those to whom they properly belong, instead of leaving them to be engulfed in the devouring maw of the Popedom. This, it is plain from the ministerial statement, has not yet been accomplished. Fifty-six bishops have in four years been allowed to enter on the government of their dioceses without any but a Papal title, and without taking the smallest notice either of State, clergy, or people. Sixty-six more have demanded the *Exequatur*, or allowed it to be demanded for them, but with such non-fulfilment of conditions singularly easy, that it could not be given: and these sixty-six also, as far as appears, have been allowed to assume, at the Pope's bidding, their place and functions. Only now do we begin to hear that the Government begins in certain cases, as that of Palermo, to assert its rights, by withholding or reclaiming the episcopal residences. But what has been in itself most startling, as it is also most difficult to understand, is, that bishops who had not obtained, nor even asked, the royal *Exequatur*, have been allowed to nominate parish priests, to these priest-nominees the *Placet* has been given, and they have been allowed to take possession wholesale of the benefices. In other cases, vicars with public salaries are allowed to assume the vacant cures. If, as is somewhere stated, the motive of this lax policy has been a dread lest the country should be denuded of pastors and of religious worship, it is obvious to answer that no such consequence could have followed if the Government had exacted, as a condition of taking the benefice, that there should be in every case some evidence exhibiting, in however mild a form, the assent of the people to the appointment.

Under these circumstances, the people in certain cases have determined that the cup of Papal assumption and aggression should not thus overflow without their making an effort to right themselves: a determination which we hope, together with the orderly and courageous action which has followed it, will serve to bring home to the English mind a fact of which it has been hitherto wholly unaware, namely, that the inhabitants of a large portion at least of Italy have many claims to rank with the most highly and effectually civilized of Europeans.

Until recently, the see of Mantua had the fortune to be occupied by a bishop of moderate sentiments. On a vacancy at his death, the Court of Rome, acting on its now invariable policy, filled the office with a thorough-paced Vaticanist. Monsignor Rota has not obtained, or even asked, the *Exequatur*,

but claims nevertheless all the rights and powers attaching to the appointment. In this state of things, the parish of *San Giovanni del Dosso* became vacant. It was a benefice in the gift of the bishop, of course presuming him to be regularly appointed to his see. Anticipating the arrival of a pastor after the Vatican's own heart, the people met in the presence of a notary, and, in a manner perfectly orderly, elected for their priest a clergyman named Don Lonardi, in whom they thought they had reason to place confidence. They also chose for his assistant a certain Don Coelli. They do not appear to have desired or contemplated anything in the nature of religious change.

Italy is divided into elective communes, and every commune has a Sindaco, chosen by the Government from among its members, at its head. The parish is in that country an ecclesiastical, but not a civil, unit; and relations with the State are conducted through the commune. These communes, in the Northern and the greater portion of Italy, are very ancient institutions; and the habits of local self-government, inherited from a long series of generations, have without doubt had a large share in endowing the people of that country with a capacity for organizing their own government, and managing their affairs without creating any disquietude or apprehension among their neighbours, which has placed them, in this important respect, at the head of the Latin nations of Europe.

Through the *Fabbriccia*, or Fabric-Vestry, of the parish, the choice of Don Lonardi at *San Giovanni* was made known to the Syndic of the commune, which is called Quistello, by the transmission of the *atto di nomina*, together with a letter, which charges upon the bishop a breach of his word, and sets forth very ingenuously that only after months of correspondence they had thus proceeded to right themselves. They proceed to state that now especially, under the action of the Vatican decree, the inferior clergy had sunk to a position entirely new (Letter, p. 6) in ecclesiastical history, and could not exercise any freedom of thought, even in civil matters, except at the peril of losing their daily bread. To men so enslaved, they declare that they cannot give their confidence or open their minds; nor can they entrust to such men (p. 7) the spiritual care of their wives, actual or betrothed. Such a system would overturn their faith, and make worship odious to the community. They think that a remedy will be found in restoring to the people the choice of their pastor, so that he may no longer be dependent upon the bishop at any rate for

his means of support, and may moreover have some bonds of attachment to the parishioners and the State. But all they ask is the exercise of the civil right, and they would protest against any invasion of the bishop's title to ordain and to institute (p. 10). Their desires are to return to the primitive discipline of the Church, and to separate effectually the lay from the ecclesiastical power—(pp. 11, 12).

Partly from information they have collected, and partly from other information which their proceedings have brought to light, it has been found that in various parts of Italy there is a considerable sprinkling of parishes, where popular election of the clergyman already prevails. Sometimes it is direct, as in the cases of Schivenoglia, Corregioli, Quatrelle and Birbesi. Sometimes the power is exercised on their behalf by the elective body of the commune, as in Pozzuolo and Rolo. All these are in the neighbourhood: and they mention the very singular fact, that the priest of San Giovanni has a concurrent vote with the parishioners of Schivenoglia in choosing the priest of that parish. In the district of Trent, this principle of election prevails (pp. 13-15). Nor are examples wanting of it farther south. In the lovely peninsula of Sorrento, it is thus that the vacancies of many churches are supplied. The following is an account obtained from an authentic source:—

‘In the parishes of Meta, Carrotto, Trinità, and Mortora, the procedure is as follows:—

‘On the death of the priest, the archbishop puts a curate in charge, until a new priest is chosen. Within six months, the archbishop affixes to the church door, on a Sunday, a notice that on the following Sunday, at 10 A.M., the episcopal vicar appointed by him will arrive at the parish church to collect the votes of the parishioners of the age of twenty-one years complete.

‘On the appointed Sunday, the vicar and his secretary take their places on the high altar (*seduti sull' altare maggiore*), with a table before them. He calls the people (*i filiani*)¹ assembled in the church one by one, and inquires in a low tone, “Whom do you wish for your parish priest?” The answer is (suppose), “Tizio.” Thereupon, always in an undertone, he repeats to his secretary, “Tizio.” He calls another, and puts the same question. The answer is (say), “Sempronio.” The vicar repeats this name to his secretary, who notes down the votes given to each candidate. When the voting is over, the vicar and his secretary sum up the numbers; after which the vicar rises and says, in the presence of the people: “Tizio has

¹ The word *filiani*, we presume, is local and technical. It is not found in the admirable *Tramater* Dictionary, published at Naples in 1834.

obtained seventy votes ; Sempronio has twenty-five ; Caio nineteen. The election is now closed."

The list is then carried to the archbishop : and, if Tizio is deemed fit for the appointment in point of learning, capacity, good conduct, and morality, the archbishop issues to him the Bull of investiture, and after a few days, again within the parish church, the vicar inducts him. If the archbishop judges Tizio to be unfit, he takes the next on the list, and so the parish priest is appointed.

After stating another case where secret voting prevails, and an attempt to introduce it in Mortora, which was stopped by the majority as an innovation, the account we have quoted gives the gratifying information that although the canon law authorises the archbishop to choose the most worthy of the candidates, in no case has he found reason to do otherwise than institute the person who had received the majority of votes.

Other instances are before us ; such as that of the Church of San Silvestro at Collebrincione, where the bishop apparently went, on a recent occasion, beyond his rights in proposing to the people a certain Massetti, and they, offended at his interference, elected another person, who, however, was less highly qualified. The bishop hereupon refused institution ; and only after a considerable time the people became convinced that Massetti was the better man, when they chose him themselves, and unanimously. In Santa Maria del Guasto, the members of the University of Aquila, according to a deed of A.D. 1520, appear to exercise the right of election on behalf of themselves and of the people, probably by an encroachment which, through their superior organization, they may at some time have effected on a more primitive right. We observe with much pleasure that the exercise of this very serious function by the Italian people, in the south as well as the north, is exercised with a gravity, order, and moderation from which the ratepayers of English parishes have much to learn.

Thus the principle of popular election subsists peacefully, and from an immemorial tradition, in Italy, by the side of the more prevailing but more modern system of nomination : so that, when brought into discussion, it does not grate as a novelty upon the mind of a country, in which the conservative instinct is of no small strength.

In November of the same year, 1873, which had witnessed the bold proceeding at San Giovanni del Dosso, the parish of

Frassino followed the example, and with a careful observance of similar forms, in the presence of the notary Bertolini of Mantua, elected for their parish priest Don Luigi Ferrabò. The votes in his favour were 203, in a parish with a population of less than 1,200; and they were unanimous. The letter of their *Fabbriceria* states their case to the *Sindaco* of *San Giorgio di Mantova*. It points out with some force that election has now been adopted as the main regulator of the operations of civil society (p. 13), and that, if the Government be disposed to view the application of this principle to the arrangements of the Church with favour, they have only to make over the right of election to the people in those parishes which are in the gift of the Crown (p. 11). They again were followed by *Paludano*, which, in the month of March, 1874, elected Don Paolo Orioli. The several letters to the syndics have it for their object to obtain the sanction of the Government with a view to the admission of the priest elect to the parsonage, and to other temporalities. They are written in a tone indicative of more or less misgiving as to the probable attitude of the Ministry; which any of those who may hereafter walk in their steps will not, we hope, have any occasion to repeat.

We learn that when Baron Ricasoli took the helm in 1861, after the deplorable loss which Italy had suffered by the death of the great Cavour, in drawing the outline of his ecclesiastical policy, he spoke as follows.

‘We intend going to Rome, not to destroy, but to construct; to offer the opportunity, to open the way, for the Church to reform herself; to grant her the liberty and the independence which may supply both the means and the incentive for self-renovation in that purity of the religious sentiment, in the simplicity of life, and strictness of discipline, which with so much honour and credit to the Papedom made its early history glorious and venerable.’

From the excellent speeches of Guerrieri-Gonzaga, Villari, and Tommasi-Crudeli, lately delivered in the Italian Chamber, we learn how, under the pressure, perhaps, of urgent political anxieties, this outline has for a time failed to be filled up: and how formidable the results were likely to become. Villari, the author of a work on Savonarola, which has for the first time given to that remarkable man his *assiette* in history, says (p. 13): ‘Permit me to tell you, the thought which more than any other makes me fear for the future is, that we are now engaged in training a nation to consist of Voltairians and of Clericals.’ ‘Never,’ says Tommasi-Crudeli, ‘did Cavour sup-

pose that the liberty which he promised was to be given only to a faction in the Roman Church' (p. 4), which always screams 'for liberty in Protestant countries and stands fast for monopoly and exclusion in those which are Roman Catholic.' We have in Italy, in matter of religion, as he well explains, 'not one thing but two: the Roman Curia and the Catholic Church. The first is a political institution, enslaved to the Jesuits, and sworn to make war upon modern civilization. The other is a flock of human beings associated, with more or less of personal conviction or adhesion, in a religion which by no means requires them to be anti-national.' He vigorously contrasts the jealous repression of the Red International by Italian law with the profuse liberties of mischief accorded to a sect or conspiracy of far closer organization, and armed with weapons of a far higher temper. For Italy, he thinks this prodigality has been a piece of gross folly: but as against the Italian Catholic clergy, it has been, he conceives, the consecration of a tyranny without example. Yet that clergy, as he states, and we believe with much truth, was once largely imbued with patriotic feelings, and ought not now to be given over to the oppressor. Some nine thousand of them, it may be remembered, had, under the auspices of Passaglia, declared against the Temporal Power of the Popedom, years before its actual abolition. There was indeed, according to this speaker, a scheme in 1865 for placing the administration of the ecclesiastical patrimony under the management of diocesan and parochial committees, wholly independent of the Court of Rome; but no step has been as yet taken towards their establishment. The Pope covers all Italy with Vaticanist bishops, and the bishops in their turn fill the parishes with Vaticanist priests; and the freedom which was intended to be given to the Church has been conferred only on the Court of Rome for the enslavement of the Church, from lack of a right disposition to distinguish between the two, and under the false and mischievous belief that religion is an effete and superannuated thing, which has no longer the power to affect society for good or for evil.

'Priests, whose patriotism had up to a certain point been proof against retrograde suggestions, and against the resentment excited by the suppression of the ecclesiastical corporations, alarmed and irritated at this undeserved desertion, now pass over in troops to the camp of the enemy. Every day lessens the number of a remainder who, as being braver or more conscientious, take refuge in a passive silence; and, if matters continue to go thus, it is easy to foresee that, after some few years, when all the present generation of clergy shall be extinct, and with it extinct also the memory of the sorrows and the

joys that priests and laymen had in common when we were trying to make for ourselves a country, the whole religious administration of Italy will be in the hands of men trained to hate and condemn their own land, and driven by a centralised and irresistible authority, to instil this hatred and contempt into the rising generation of Italians.¹

To the same effect, the Marquis Anselmo Guerrieri-Gonzaga argued this case in a speech which serves to show how completely and effectually the Italians have imbibed the spirit, and possess the power, of true parliamentary debate. He was able to speak from experience of the state of affairs in the dioceses of Pavia and Mantua, where this distinguished family, and especially the Marquis Carlo Guerrieri-Gonzaga, have been able to give valuable countenance and support to the courageous rural communities, whose proceedings we have related.

It was hardly to be expected that their elections of parish priests, which were undoubtedly in one sense aggressive, should pass unchallenged. The Bishop of Mantua had nominated another priest, Don Antonio Prati, to *San Giovanni del Dosso*; and he, together with a dissenting minority in the parish, brought an action, before the Civil and Correctional Court of Mantua, against Don Lonardi. This minority purported to consist of 47 persons, against the 207 supporters of Lonardi. But it is stated that they were all dependents of two proprietors belonging to the Papal party, and that the real instigator was the Marquis Annibale Cavriani, a well-known clerical partisan.² When, in the course of the proceedings, it was objected that some of these 47 were not parishioners, their counsel replied that it did not matter; it was enough if some, or one, were. Two, according to the Judge, and two only, were real parishioners of *San Giovanni*.

The object of the action was to oust Don Lonardi, with Don Coelli, from the parsonage, and to deprive him of the use of the church, and of the stipend assigned to him by the Government out of the temporalities of the parish. The arguments, reported in the *Opinione* of June 25, are full of interest, but it will be enough if we cite, from the *Diritto* of the 5th of July, the substance of the able Judgment given in the case.

The canonical regularity of Don Lonardi's position, of course, could not be affirmed. He had, indeed, received a formal induction, as the judge tells us in his luminous expo-

¹ *Speech of Tommasi-Crudeli*, p. 13.

² *I Parroci Eletti*, pp. 43, 44.

sition, on March 15, 1874, from the archpriest of Cavriana, but this was while the bishop's nominee, Prati, was still a claimant of the benefice. Together with the priests Lonardi and Coelli, was sued a public officer, entitled the Sub-steward of vacant benefices ; but he pleaded by counsel, that the parties had no *locus standi* against him. Lonardi had been subjected to something in the nature of a competitive examination by the bishop, in which he was worsted, and this, among other points, is urged on the side of the prosecution. Not, if we understand rightly, as implying a want of clerical character or qualifications (indeed he had been appointed by the bishop to administer the parish during the vacancy), but on the ground that the other was the better and the lawfully entitled candidate.

The court first declared its own competency, under the law of Guarantees, to determine the juridical effect of ecclesiastical acts. It finds in the first clause of the *Statuto*, or Constitutional Act, that the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the State, but that all are entitled to have the observances of religion according to their consciences. This principle of freedom has been provided for by the Siccardi law, the law of Civil Matrimony, and the law of Guarantees. And from this principle, as the Court conceives, it follows that the parishioners of *San Giovanni* were entitled to meet and choose Don Lonardi to be their spiritual pastor. This right, however, does not of itself imply possession of the church ; and moreover the minority may, if they please, take Don Prati for their priest by the same right and title as empowered the majority to choose Don Lonardi. Neither of them will, in the estimation of the law, derive a title from the canons ; each will be simply the minister of religion to those who may choose, or may have chosen him. The demand of the prosecutors, that Don Lonardi be interdicted from all spiritual functions within the parish, is reprovèd as well as repelled.

Addressing himself next to the question of the Fabric, the judge finds there is no legal title to it in any one person or body. But it has been from time immemorial available by law for the use of the parishioners ; and by the *Civil Code* (Art. 432), it is appropriated, and belongs to the commune, not to the Church Universal. All property of this kind remains at the disposition of the Communal Council, not of the Pope. And this Council can only be represented by its head, the Syndic ; individual parishioners cannot interfere unless in certain ways exceptionally pointed out by the law, none of which are here in question. Holding the church under the sanction of this

authority, Don Lonardi cannot be molested in his use of it. The effect of these conclusions covers the case of the coadjutor, Coelli, who had a like elective title.

There remains the question of the parsonage, which is part of the emoluments of the benefice. These emoluments have not been conferred in block by the civil power, which is alone entitled, upon either claimant. But the sub-stewardship (*sub-economato*) of vacant benefices allows to Don Lonardi the occupation of the residence, and it is not in any way responsible to the prosecutors, and ought not to have been included in this action.

We are not able even to conjecture whether this remarkable Judgment will be sustained upon appeal; for there appears to be some degree of conflict between the article of the *Statuto*, which declares the Roman Catholic religion to be the religion of the State, and the principle of freedom of conscience as it is interpreted by the Court, to say nothing of the severance of the Church from the State, which is the basis of the law of Guarantees. But the first of these is for Italy only a dead formula of the past, while the second is the declared and energizing rule of prospective policy. There can be little doubt that, when the promised and expected plan of settlement is adopted by the Chambers, it must be founded in substance on the principles proclaimed at Mantua, and the union of an Italian parish with the Roman See will have to depend only upon voluntary ties.

It seems difficult to overrate the importance of the results to which the action of these poor and hardy villagers may thus be found to lead. The attitude of the popular mind in Italy has, indeed, no bias towards religious innovation; perhaps we ought to say, it has never become very sensible of the need of religious improvement and reform. But, while contented with the tenets and usages of the Latin Church, taught and administered by such a clergy as they have usually had to do with, the people of Italy appear to have arrived at a state of marked indifference with regard to Papal and episcopal proceedings; and where they know the bishop to be anti-national, they seem quite prepared to dispense with his aid in the government of their religious concerns. Determined to part neither with their religion nor with their patriotism, they think the lack of canonical institution for their priest a lighter loss. But this state of things should, perhaps, be regarded as only provisional. Either the Court of Rome must, probably under a new Pontiff, relax the rigour

of its Ultramontanism, and tolerate a race of priests who can live in harmony with the people, or else, if the parishes are left free to continue under Papal jurisdiction, or to decline it at their will, we must prepare to see great organic changes in the government of the Church of Italy. It is probable that such changes in the government of the Church would at some stage be followed by reforms, possibly by something more than reforms, in discipline or even in doctrine. These, however, are for the present subjects only of remote and doubtful conjecture. For ourselves, we have no love for fiery agitation in matter of religion, and we would still hope that wise and moderate counsels may avert a dangerous crisis. What we contemplate with deep interest and cordial sympathy is the stout and manful resistance of a handful of Christian flocks to a system of despotism, springing from the Roman Court, and forced upon the Italian priesthood, which makes deadly war upon freedom in every shape, not only upon political and civil, but upon personal, inward, intellectual and moral freedom. If, in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of Italy, the air of heaven is to be breathed without restraint; if, without ceasing to be Christians, men are to remain men and patriots; if the circle of family life is to be independent, if the sanctuary of the private conscience is to be saved from the trampling of the hosts of the Curia, Italy will owe some part of its debt in respect of these great blessings to the humble communities of San Giovanni, of Frassinò, and of Paludano.

We learn, indeed, with sincere regret that General Garibaldi has expressed a disinclination to the election of priests by the people, on the ground that it will tend to strengthen the hold of the Church upon the country. There cannot be a more conclusive proof of the deplorable working of the Papal and Curial policy than that it should have thrown a man of his virtuous and disinterested character into an attitude of such violent and indiscriminating opposition. But his authority in questions of this class is not what might be supposed.

Our Scottish readers of the Free Kirk will be apt to compare San Giovanni with Auchterarder. 'Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!' ¹ Amid strong dissimilarities of circumstance, both exhibited a spectacle, edifying in itself, and valuable to a worldly and wealth-worshipping age—the spectacle of a struggle on behalf of the human conscience against the aggression of superior power; and it is remarkable

¹ *St. James* iii. 5.

that in neither case was there any uneasiness under the doctrine or the discipline of the respective religious systems. In each, alike, the object was to vindicate what was conceived to be the true and original safeguard of their scheme of government, and to establish the maxim that the people form an element in the constitution of the Church. In the case of Auchterarder, where the beacon-light of the Free Church was first kindled, not only did the early formation of a large, vigorous, and highly organized body ensue, but that body, together with its predecessors of the original Secession, has obtained a moral triumph unparalleled in history, through the adoption, by the Legislature of 1874, of an Act which introduces in its full breadth into the National Establishment of Scotland all that the Seceders asked, and more than would have contented the men of Auchterarder.¹ We fear it is not likely that the Court of Rome will reverse its policy, or, in homely phrase, eat its words, as completely as the Scotch Establishment has been content, and even keen, to eat its words. What we may hope, but must by no means assume, is that, for the sake of avoiding more profound organic changes, she will stoop to tolerate the existence in the Italian Church of moderate views, and will no longer, by forbidding the Christian to be a patriot, prevent the patriot (as far as in her lies) from being a Christian. But of this we are certain, that she will not, such is the strength of the evil spirit that possesses her, be brought into this better and milder mood except under vigorous pressure. The experience of a few years will show, whether that pressure is likely to be effectually applied.

Undoubtedly the Court of Rome and its party have evoked a kind and amount of religious resistance to its extravagant claims, since the Council of 1870, such as has had no example since the Reformation in the sixteenth century. We speak of resistance simply religious, and not of those conflicts with numerous Christian States, which it has so wantonly provoked. Germany and Switzerland are the two countries in which this resistance is most conspicuous; and in the first of these two, it is by far the most important, resting as it does on the double basis of a considerable popular adhesion, and of a strong learned and historic force, rooted in more than one of the Universities of the land. Until recently

¹ We are aware that, as has been shown by Sir Henry Moncrieff (*The Identity of the Free Church Claim*, Edinburgh, 1875), the ground widened in the course of the Free Church controversy, and it came to embrace other claims, which are not affected by the Act of 1874.

it seemed as if the corrosion of indifferentism in the higher circles would in Italy, as it has done in France, preclude the possibility of any extended movement. But there has been a shifting of circumstances and figures which seems now to give a different complexion to the scene. Nor is it any one symptom taken alone, but the concurrence and convergence of many, which appears to warrant the hope that in one shape or another a stroke will be struck in that country for the cause of freedom and of truth.

For ourselves, we do not doubt as to the shape which the effect is likely, at all events in its first stage, to assume. We believe that it will be that which has been indicated by the village communities of the Mantovano: an effort to repel the *prepotenza*, the outrageous excess of sacerdotal despotism, and to establish the principle that the Christian community has something to say to the management of its own religious affairs. *What* it means to say and will say, we cannot fully know, until the principle itself has obtained adequate recognition and allowance. It certainly need not assume a revolutionary character, for it is well established in the East, where the conservative idea has run even perhaps into extremes, but where considerable scope is notwithstanding allowed in ecclesiastical matters to the popular element. The union of Italy in one and the same Church, and the unlikelihood of any considerable secession from that Church, unless under extreme circumstances, greatly favour any reasonable design for fixing on this basis some new regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. On account of the principle they involve, an imitation elsewhere of the proceedings of the three village communities would be of all others the best and most healthful sign. We do not mean that the popular election of the parochial clergy is a panacea for all ills, nor necessarily, that, that measure, in the exact Mantuan fashion of it, is marked out for ultimate and universal adoption; but that it is the only and the effectual form under which, according to present appearance, resistance can be offered by the disarmed community of the lower clergy and the laity to an oppressive and deadly despotism.

The same journal which contained the sentence of the Mantuan court, contained also intelligence of a case which had just occurred at a considerable distance, in the district of Friuli. The priest of Pignano, near Cividale, having been removed by the Archiepiscopal Court of Udine, the parish became vacant. The inhabitants invited a clergyman named Vogrig, who had been suspended from the performance of

Church offices (*d' divinis*) several years back as a liberal Catholic, to assume the charge. Accepting the invitation, he made his entry into the place on a Sunday about the beginning of July, amidst a great concourse of people, and proceeded to celebrate the mass. The Prefect of Udine was asked by the Papal party to interfere; but replied that his sole duty was to look to public order. In this view he sent a handful of *carabinieri* to the place, whose active services do not appear to have been called for. An early future, as vacancies in parishes from time to time occur, will test the popular feeling in regard to movements of this description.

But there are other features discernible in the present state of Italy, which cannot be omitted from an outline such as we are endeavouring to present to view. It is not merely the changes, which have taken place in that country, have made an opening for the activity of Protestant propagandism, and that its promoters have been sanguine in their statements of results. We see, indeed, no present reason to anticipate any appreciable amount of permanent effect from these operations. In Naples, again, there has emerged from the prevailing irritation a body which assumes the title of the National Italian Catholic Church, and the proceedings of which require some notice. It stands in a certain relationship to a journal which, since the year 1861, has availed itself of the concession of freedom to the Press, under the title (in our tongue) of 'The Catholic Emancipator, and journal of the Italian Priesthood's National Society for emancipation and mutual help.' It has published a *Statuto Dogmatico-Organico-Disciplinare*, which purports to have been adopted by its members in General Assembly, and which is reputed to have been drawn by the Cavaliere Prota Giurleo, a priest of very competent learning. The *Statuto* acknowledges the authority of Divine Revelation, and of the Universal Catholic Church, and adheres to the Episcopal government, the theory of which, however, it expounds in terms so low as to weaken, if not to efface, its essential distinction from Presbytery. 'The bishop is no more than the first among brethren, equals in the priesthood' (Art. 25). With this exception, the document may be said to eschew organic change, and to set forth only moderate reforms. But there is a remarkable contrast between this *modus operandi*, and that of the *Alt-Katholiken* of Germany. The Germans have resolutely taken time to consider their course, before launching a scheme of reformation; whereas, this section of Italians have aspired as a religious community, to spring full-grown and full-armed into life, like Pallas from the head of Zeus. A form

of oath is appended to the *Statuto*, which, in terms (we should have thought) rather too precise, sets forth the promise to maintain it.

The preparation of this document was followed up by the election of Monsignor Domenico Panelli as the first bishop. He bears the title of 'Catholic Archbishop of Lydda' and a short memoir of his life has been printed in the *Emancipatore Cattolico*, No. 15, of the present year. He is here certified by 'Monsignor *Benamino Eusevidis, Arcivescovo di Napoli*,' to have been consecrated archbishop by him, and an assistant prelate, in the year 1869, at Constantinople. The name of '*Benaminus Eusebides Dimitrio, Neapoleos, rit. Græc.*,' appears in the authentic list of the signatures to the Acts of the Vatican Council, among the Archbishops.¹ Monsignor Panelli was, however, so says the narrative, summoned to Rome in 1863 with flattering promises, but on his arrival he was arrested by order of the Inquisition, and, in March of the following year, condemned to imprisonment for life, upon the charge of having procured ordination and consecration according to the forms of the Eastern Church, but really for opinions favourable to Italian nationality. In 1869, he effected his escape, and the narrative closes somewhat oddly with the statement, not only that he was once more invited to Rome by the Pope in 1872, but that he acted upon the invitation, and received there the Pontifical benediction. However, on the 16th of May, 1875,² the *Statuto* to which we have referred was solemnly inaugurated in his chapel at Naples, when he swore to it in the presence of those assembled. About two hundred names, belonging to various ranks and professions of society, are subscribed to the record of the meeting. But it is stated upon authority that the number of persons who had participated in his election on May 2, was no less than 2532. Since that date another episcopal election seems to have taken place in the new communion: the name of the dignitary thus chosen is Trabucco.³

Our general information respecting the body thus organized, and respecting the society of priests from whose bosom it appears to have sprung, is not sufficient to warrant our giving an immediate opinion on the question whether the schism is one of serious importance. But we understand that at this early date Archbishop Panelli is at issue with the framer of the *Statuto*; and it would be at the very least

¹ *Acta et Decreta*, Romæ 1872, p. 102.

² *Emancipatore Cattolico*, May 22, 1875, No. 15.

³ *Ibid.* No. 20, June 5, 1875.

premature to treat the movement as a sister to that of the German Catholics.

It may, however, be observed with justice upon all which we have thus far detailed, that no broad conclusion can be drawn from manifestations which, if taken at the best, are no more than partial and local. But the very remarkable document of which we have already made a passing mention, by which nine thousand Italian priests virtually testified their opposition to Ultramontanism, cannot be placed in the same category. It is probable, indeed, that of late years the patriotic section of the clergy may have dwindled under the action of the great powers of patronage, as well as of pressure, wielded by Rome and those who are the tools of Rome. Still there remains enough to warrant a pretty confident belief in the existence among the clergy of a somewhat wide-spread sentiment adverse to despotism in the Church. Unless we have been much deceived in the tidings which reach us, this sentiment is represented in the clergy of Rome itself by persons who are alike able and disposed to make their voices heard when the proper time arrives, and whose voices when heard will be respected. Some men indeed there are in all times who are always waiting for a proper time that never comes: men who either beguile themselves with the idea that they have manhood and resolution equal to acting in great crises, when they have none, or who at best wait upon the chapter of accidents, and find their subsistence in the hope of crumbs which now and then may fall from fortune's table. We must not hastily conclude that these men are such. It is a serious matter to break away, even in the best cause, from the constituted organization of the Church: though this is the destiny that, in the sharper passages of ecclesiastical history, has oftentimes fallen to the lot of her fathers, her saints, and her heroes. But the wise man will not embark his hopes in a scheme of rupture, while he can reasonably place them elsewhere. The disastrous changes of religion, which the present generation has witnessed, are especially associated with the personality of the reigning Pope: and, though his old age be still a green old age, it is not unreasonable that Roman clergymen should look forward to the epoch of his demise as that which is likely to set its mark, once for all, upon the time, and to determine the triumph or decline of the principles and policy of Vaticanism in the Latin communion. This their last hope, we are told, they fondly refuse to abandon.

However obstinately the Ultramontane party is set upon the restoration by foreign arms of the Temporal Power, it is a

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fact worthy of notice that Padre Curci,¹ a prominent Jesuit, and for some thirty years or more a well-known champion of the Papacy, has been permitted to put forth a recommendation that peace, or a *modus vivendi*, should be established with the Italian kingdom. On the other hand, the purpose of Italy is fixed and irrevocable, and her unity, power, and life as a nation are staked on the maintenance of her hold on the city which forms her traditional and historic centre. We are among those, who believe that she may yet have to put forth all her strength in self-defence for this purpose, and that the conflict may for a time be grave. Of the ultimate result, however, it seems impossible to doubt. The clerical government of Rome had every vice under the sun. In principle indefensible, in practice both materially and morally bad, and at the same time incurably impotent, its acceptance would imply so complete a departure from all the tendencies and convictions of the age, that we might as readily expect to see the Pope anathematize Hildebrand or canonize John Knox, as to witness its effectual re-establishment. Among the assured facts of the future, we must reckon the eventual abandonment, by all but hopeless and exceptional fanatics, of the temporal dominion of the Church. It is a subtle and a doubtful question, what may be the result upon its spiritual position. If we regard the Papal system as a religion only, there is no reason why it should be a loser by the change. In these days, the concurrence of secular authority adds little weight to religious appeals; and that little seems from year to year rather to diminish than to grow. The Oriental Church has a hold on its adherents, and a promise of permanence, at least as trustworthy and strong, as the Roman system ever has enjoyed; but it has never possessed any temporal dominion. But then the Roman scheme has habitually included for so many centuries the unrestrained use of temporal and coercive instruments for the maintenance of spiritual power, that this bad custom has become to it almost as a second nature. We do not now speak of the uniform tendency of the Roman Church towards the limitation of civil liberty in all states where it has the advantage of a majority. We speak of the actual exercise, down to the latest hour of temporal dominion, by the Court of Rome, of coercive power over bishops and clergymen within the dominions

¹ See his *Ragione dell'Opera*, Roma, Bencini, 1874, and the comments on it in the official reply to M. Dupanloup's attack, entitled *Les Loix ecclésiastiques de l'Italie*, pp. 73-5.

of the Pope. The method was to summon them to Rome upon their spiritual allegiance; and, having got them bodily there, to apply to them whatever measure of restraint, up to the very highest, might be deemed best for the purpose of repression. The reader will have observed Monsignor Pannelli's description of his own case; and it is sustained from other sources. But there is no need of illustration by individual instances; the practice was well known, nor are we aware that the intervention of foreign sovereigns on behalf of their subjects ever was available to pierce into the dark chambers of clerical administration, if indeed it ever was invoked. No doubt the possession of a territorial sovereignty, though limited, as was that of the Supreme Pontiff, was an essential condition of the use of coercion in this form, and there are persons of competent authority, whose judgment is not only that the loss of the temporal power will be felt, but that it will tell very sensibly in weakening the means of ecclesiastical government over the clerical order. To laymen, the system had in modern times little or no application.

We have spoken of particular manifestations in Italy; and we have spoken of the state of feeling which has prevailed among the Italian clergy, many of whom long maintained in harmony their love of country and their attachment to religion, with very little encouragement from their lay brethren. But it is in the lay quarter that we have had the most recent and cheering signs of a beneficial change. A group or nucleus of distinguished men has formed itself in Italy, and within the circle of its Parliamentary and active life, who appear to have grasped this fundamental truth, that religion, whatever be its source or ground, is an element of power with which states and statesmen must lay their account in the future, instead of contemplating it only as an ornament, or a curiosity, fit for the museums of the past. Through, and behind, and beneath the dense medium of the Roman Court, its worldly tactics, its subtle, constant, and enslaving pressure, they see the religion of the country; that power which chastens and trains the heart, which consolidates society, which everywhere replaces force with love; our guide in life, our stay and our illumination in the dark precincts of the grave. It will not do, as is now more and more felt, to leave all the mass of human action, experience, and discipline towards good, which is expressed in these ideas, to be trodden down by the banded foes both of national and of personal freedom. This wise and sound conviction has prompted the sympathies with which the courageous action of the Mantuan parishes has been cheered.

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It has produced the work entitled *Otto Mesi in Roma*,¹ which records with historic fidelity the disastrous proceedings of the Council of 1870, and which describes, from the Christian point of view, the antichristian action of Vaticanism on the minds and lives of men² with a power and sagacity worthy of the best days of Italian thought. It has also led, during the session of the present year, to a lengthened and profoundly interesting debate in the Chamber, on the motion of Signor Mancini, which had for its object to put aside the policy of indifferentism, and to encourage, perhaps even to oblige, the Government to allow the clergy and laity of the Italian Church to make use of their proper and constitutional means of self-defence against an overbearing tyranny in the Church. The real tendency of this debate was perhaps best exhibited by an amendment proposed by Marquis Anselm Guerrieri, in a sense friendly to the Government. It expressed the anxiety of the Chamber to turn to full account the rights reserved under the law of Guarantees, and invited the Government to proceed promptly in framing the measures needed to give them full effect. There is, we are confidently assured, much reason to believe, as well as to desire, that, when these measures take their place upon the statute-book of Italy, they will be found to provide effectually against the prevailing oppression. The state may not assume the responsibility of a protective action, for which it recognizes its own unfitness. But this need not impede its securing to the clergy and people the means of self-protection; so that Ultramontane bishops shall not be thrust upon the dioceses, nor shall flood the parishes with like-minded priests, to the prejudice of the interests, and in defiance of the wishes, of those whom it is their duty to feed in the green pastures, and to lead forth beside the waters of comfort.

¹ We are informed that an English translation of this volume will shortly appear.

² *Febbrajo* iii. pp. 133-152.

ART. II.—ON SOME ASPECTS OF SCIENCE IN RELATION TO RELIGION.

Abstract.

Prevalence of Scepticism at the present time—Its Causes, those especially connected with the pursuit of Natural Science—Collision of this with Theology, from dogmatizing on the part of the latter, and from speculations in matters of Revelation, with historical retrospect—Philosophical theories of nature legitimate in their proper place; of these Evolution at present the most influential.—Notice especially of the theories of Lamarck, of the *Vestiges of Creation*, and of Darwin—Difficulties from gaps in nature, as between inanimate and living bodies, unconscious and conscious existence, and the lower animals and man, and that in respect both of intellectual and moral powers—Question of Interposition—Bearing of Evolution on the primary act of Creation—Conclusion as to its bearing on Natural Theology—Question of accordance with the language of Scripture—Plea for toleration and Church guidance in such questions—Explanation of the line of argument taken.

Is there any real ground for the prevalent impression of the rapid advance of scepticism among us at present, or is this feeling a mere panic, due to some casual turn of that conflict between faith and unbelief, which can never cease so long as the Church of Christ is militant here on earth? It partakes probably of both characters. It must be a panic or groundless fear that Christianity will be overborne, and lose its hold on the minds of men, for our Lord's words stand sure, that the gates of Hell shall never prevail against His Church; and a short retrospect of the history of modern thought will show that it has passed before this through times when the opposition of sceptical tendencies was both fiercer and more widespread than now. Matters, at least among us, have hardly yet reached such a pass that we could adopt the words of Bishop Butler, in the advertisement prefixed to the first edition of his *Analogy*—'It is come to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject for enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious, and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all persons of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were, by way of

reprisal for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.'

Yet, on the other hand, the impression seems to be so far true, that in the ever-recurring oscillations of public feeling the wave of religious fervour, which followed the deadness of last century, is now in turn subsiding, in many quarters, into a state of spiritual apathy; and this, falling in with the unprecedented advances of physical science, has led to the latter being put forward as a sort of substitute for religion, and so thrust into a position false and damaging to both.

It does not materially affect the conclusion, to admit, as in candour we must, that other influences have contributed to these results, with which even good churchmen may have more or less sympathy—such as a reaction from the intolerance which marked the older usages, and the mixing up of politics with religion, which was in its ultimate effect as adverse to the spirituality of its professors as the present temper of public opinion is to the avowal of a definite creed. Nor does it seriously affect the argument to admit also that the jealousy and strife caused by our long-standing differences in doctrine have had no small share in bringing about the present state of matters, for the two influences have in fact been working all along in opposite directions—the increase of scepticism and indifference among the masses going on side by side with a multiplication of religious sects, and a marked increase of earnestness among their respective adherents.

To appreciate fully the results of that separation of general education from religious training to which we are now so obviously tending, we must consider especially its effect on our more advanced students, who are at the time of life when the intellectual powers first come into vigorous play, and find occupation for themselves in filling up the blank left by the want of definite religious teaching at an early period, with the current systems of the day, as furnished to them in the text-books in common use. The exclusion from such manuals of any guiding principle of religion—however consistent with the general line of policy now adopted in education—cannot but foster a sceptical turn of mind, for the practical effect of presenting to the young a system of nature, complete in everything but the momentous questions of its origin and support, is of itself suggestive of these being still unsettled points, on which the mind is free to fall in with any speculations which take the fancy.¹ Some of the books in

¹ There is much force in Mr. Pritchard's comment on this reticence

use among our students are, moreover, open to the charge of a decided tendency to materialism, which, if not directly inculcated, is at least naturally suggested to the reader, by the way in which the facts are put before him, and the general treatment of the subject.

Of this state of matters it is hardly possible to overrate the gravity. Its want of reticence lays the mind of the young open before us unconsciously, and we may well fear that it is more from prudential caution than through conviction, that a decent regard to orthodoxy marks more or less the general conversation of some of their elders. But if the rising generation grow up in the open avowal of such sceptical views, considerations of this nature are not likely to have much influence with them when their powers of thought are more matured, and thus we have before us a prospect which may well fill the minds of Christian parents with anxious forebodings, what the end of these things will be.

It is true there is nothing here to outrage the religious susceptibilities of the country, as in some of the recent writings and addresses of the reputed leaders of scientific thought, but it should be considered that the overt character of their language goes far of itself to counteract its misleading power, except in the case of minds ready prepared by the insidious working of a secularized education to admit freely suggestions which conflict with the principles of religion. As indications, however, of the position taken by some men of scientific eminence, with more or less acquiescence on the part of others, such utterances—though probably in some degree misjudged in the popular estimate—unquestionably point to the advance of sceptical views among the more educated classes. And though these are not now put forward in the same offensive manner as in the experience of a former generation, it must be borne in mind that the energetic counter-movement also in progress on the side of religion will probably, in its collision with the former, impress on it a much more aggressive and intolerant character than it ostensibly bears at present.

The question, therefore, which the pursuit of natural science occupies with regard to revealed religion must be one

observable in the modern writings of some able men, which, whatever the cause may be, is both disappointing and painful to religious minds. 'The giants of old, who were the pioneers of modern knowledge—the Keplers, the Newtons, the Bernouillis, the Eulers, of ancient fame—had no such reticence. Why should the sons be more reticent than the fathers?'—

Preface to *Hulsean Lectures*, p. xxx.

at present of deep interest to every candid inquirer after truth. The conclusions drawn from such scientific inquiry are indeed only one of the causes to be assigned for the prevalence of doubt and scepticism. Bishop Ellicott, in his editorial postscript to the Lectures published by the Christian Evidence Society, specifies two other sources of unsettlement—the results of the historical criticism of late years, and certain views recently put forward as to the grounds of our knowledge, and the true basis of religion and morality. But as it is impossible here to traverse all the grounds of doubt, those are selected which bear on the progress of natural science, as being the most urgent. For while difficulties suggested by historical criticism or metaphysical speculations are confined comparatively to a few, or are adopted at second-hand by others as stock arguments, those connected with some of the prevalent theories of nature come unbidden to many—nay, may be said to be thrust upon them—by the increasing efforts to popularize natural science, and the loose and unguarded way—to use the mildest language—in which some of its professors mix up unsound philosophical, or rather theological, speculations, with strictly scientific matter.

This mode of treating the subject is no doubt often due to an involuntary confusion of thought on the question of the proper limits of the province of natural science which underlies the whole matter before us; and if at times there are indications also of an irrational jealousy of any dogmatic statements whatever, even on points lying wholly beyond the range of experimental research, it is but fair to bear in mind that in the past history of science, theologians have often pursued an unreasonably obstructive policy, and that men of science have had to fight hard for the admission of conclusions which they, and the representatives of their original persecutors, are now alike agreed in recognizing as well-established truths. As this harsh treatment was but the natural result of prejudice, alarmed at the new advances of science upsetting old-established notions, so the overbearing language of some savants of the present day, when they come to touch on religious questions, may also probably be accounted for, if it cannot be excused, by a reaction from the unreasonable opposition which is only just passing away. The fact at least is undeniable, however it is to be explained, that the first established conclusions of modern science were, on their promulgation, violently opposed by the prevalent theological teaching of the day, though it cannot be said they were brought forward with any view to disparage religion.

It is needless here to introduce in illustration the trite reference to the condemnation of the Copernican system by Pope Paul V. in 1616, though it may not be equally so to call attention to the fact—more commonly overlooked—that in 1818 Pope Pius VII. cancelled the prohibition, which, for more than two centuries, had interfered with its being taught, otherwise than as a hypothesis, in any Roman Catholic University. Geology, within the memory of many of our own generation, has had to encounter an opposition, and in due time obtained a recognition, both of which, if less formal, are nowise less decided. Time was, when even dignitaries of the Church, in their public prelections, made use of such expressions as ‘Geologists and other infidels,’ though, so far from the pioneers of this science being biassed in their conclusions by any wish to upset the received religious teaching, there is reason to think that they impeded its progress by adopting premature theories to adjust new discoveries to old beliefs; so that from time to time they were compelled to throw away some element in their conclusions, which fresh investigations showed to be no longer tenable. Hence, in part the frequent change of geological theories, which has been made a reason for not accepting its present teaching.¹

Later still we have had like collisions in regard to the antiquity of the human race, and the connection of the nervous system with the play of thought—views still warmly opposed by some theologians, though mostly on assumptions which are repudiated by their supporters. Yet even already these views command such a fair amount of favour in the same quarter, as to make it impossible to say that the theological mind, as such, has pronounced against them. Other controversies of a similar nature are still pending, though probably few men of science doubt as to the ultimate issue; and the same may be said of some theologians, as eminent for the soundness of their belief as for the extent of their acquaintance with the laws of nature—as will sufficiently appear from the references to their works in the following pages.

There is, however, at the present day, a very perceptible modification of tone on both sides of the discussion. While on the one hand the opposition is much less general, and conducted with more discrimination, on the other hand we cannot well shut our eyes to the new scientific views which are now attracting public attention, being sometimes advo-

¹ Farrar: *Science in Theology*, p. 101.

cated in a spirit unfriendly to Revelation—as is indicated by the proneness to import into the discussion inferences nowise necessarily involved in the question, and obviously tending to unsettle our faith—or at least by the use of an ambiguous phraseology, naturally suggestive of such a tendency. Hence the teaching of some of the more advanced writers of the day on natural science presents to the Christian student a difficulty which did not attach to the Copernican system of astronomy, or the doctrine of the geological antiquity of the earth, in the days when these subjects were respectively in dispute; for not only are the results opposed by the popular religious teaching as inconsistent with the sense which it puts on the language of Scripture, but they are associated with a philosophical theory which seems repugnant to the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. With every allowance for the misleading effect which prejudice may have on his mind, and for the amount of real or probable truth contained in the strictly scientific part of the statement, he finds that to deal fairly either with it, or with his own religious belief, he has no resource but to dissociate the scientific conclusions from their theological or philosophical setting, and to reconstruct them on a new basis, more in conformity with the principles of his faith.

In fact, while natural science and dogmatic theology have each their proper province, within which their rights are paramount, the popular expositors on both sides are prone to overlay their just claims with pretensions which are damaging to their legitimate influence, as going beyond their due jurisdiction—like the style of King of France, which the English monarchs used formerly to append to their own rightful titles; and if the theologian goes out of his way when he proceeds to dogmatize on matters of scientific observation, surely the savant is equally wide of his mark when he mixes up his statements on the character and sequence of the phenomena of nature with speculations as to the cause of being, and the connection between the natural and the supernatural.

But though it is true that the scientific inquirer goes out of his way, and can no longer claim the standing of a student of nature, when he enters on questions on which physical research can really throw no light, and in regard to which our conclusions must rest on considerations of quite a different kind, it by no means follows that for the satisfactory progress even of the investigation of nature some system of philosophical arrangement is not required, in order to combine isolated facts into an orderly whole. No doubt, as genius is

necessary for the conception of a theory suited to the case, discretion is no less called for in its application. Yet it will be generally allowed that without such theories the natural sciences would never have attained their present advanced position. Without some such philosophical conception to guide him, the student of nature, however assiduous he may be in his observations, does but little to turn them to their full account. He may be compared to an omnivorous fancy collector, whose curiosity-shop—misnamed a museum—has hardly any character in common with the well-arranged collection of a real naturalist, though it may possibly outnumber it in the variety of specimens it contains. All minds of a higher cast have felt that, in order fully to appreciate the importance even of a single fact, it must be viewed, as far as may be, in its relations to all those previously known. Hence the inducement for those occupied in the study of nature to base their researches on some general theory of the universe, either ready made to their hands, or of their own excogitation.

The theory at present probably most in favour, as giving a harmonious explanation of the various phenomena of nature, is that of Evolution; and it is to this the following remarks will chiefly be directed, as, in some of its modifications, it underlies most of the points in which science is alleged to be in conflict with religion. In the interest of the latter, therefore, it is desirable to inquire—not into its abstract truth, or probability, for this is a point which men of science may be left to settle among themselves—but into the question, whether its fundamental principles are compatible or not with those of religion, natural and revealed. If no essential discordance can be shown to exist between the two, it is surely both unreasonable and unadvisable to put under the ban of religion a theory which has acquired an acceptance in scientific circles, already so general, and seemingly still on the increase.

The fundamental idea implied in this term Evolution—or unrolling—is the *continuity* of succession in the phenomena of the universe, including all material forms, animate and inanimate, as opposed to the notion of *discontinuous* succession, or intermittent action, which is involved in the idea of the succession of forms, not derived, each from the foregoing, but brought into being, each, as it were, by itself, apart from the others, and separated from them by gaps, more or less obvious, both of time and character.

Such theories have at all times had great attractions for scientific minds, but, unfortunately, the exclusive contemplation of the sensible phenomena of nature has indisposed

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many of its most earnest students from seeing aught beyond it, and led them to adopt notions, which go to deify nature itself. Hence the most noted systems of Evolution have such a pantheistic complexion as, in the public mind, to colour the whole subject with the same tint.

This is especially the case with Lamarck's theory of the transmutation of species, dating from the beginning of the present century. Lamarck held that a series of changes have been from the beginning in slow, but continual progress, affecting the characters of living beings, and tending gradually to change one form into another. In this way he maintained that it was possible to account for the variety of species found in nature at present—the different types indicated by geological research, as having existed in past ages—and the continuous gradation from simpler to more complex forms in the scale of being.

Thus assuming, as the primordial form of life, an animalcule of the simplest conceivable kind, and of microscopical dimensions, he carries it onward through the successive stages of its development, till under the guidance of his fictile imagination it acquires the characters of various of the higher animals, and finally attains to the attributes and dignity of man. Lamarck's views for a long time met with little countenance, at least in this country, and Sir C. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, published in 1840, shows very clearly, in the able abstract he gives of the theory, that he considered it, at that time, too absurd to deserve serious consideration.

The same idea of the transmutation of species, and the gradual development of the higher from the lower forms of life, was again put forth in the *Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation*, published anonymously in 1844; but no impression was made in its favour on the public mind, till the appearance of Charles Darwin's work, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection*, in 1859, which turned the balance of scientific opinion to the side of Evolution. Since then the publications in which this theory has been advocated have been too numerous to be referred to in detail, but the names of Mr. A. Wallace, Sir J. Lubbock, Professors Huxley and Tyndall, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and its former critic, Sir C. Lyell, may be mentioned as some of the leading contributors to its extension.

One reason, no doubt, of the favourable reception of Darwin's theory is the large array of facts brought forward, and the skill with which they are dovetailed together, in support, or at least in illustration of his views. Lamarck brings for-

ward nothing like positive evidence of the actual occurrence of the changes of bodily conformation which his theory involves. All, therefore, that he can be said to have done, is to suggest a *conceivable* scheme of evolution by transmutation, in showing how species do grade into each other, and how certain transformations—supposing they had been, or could be effected—would be in harmony with the changes in the mode of life. Moreover, he seems to make it an essential part of his system to refer the new development of organs entirely to a straining on the part of the creature, after the ends to which they are subservient, and he has thus put a stamp of pantheism on his conception, which it is impossible to efface, without recasting the whole.

In the theory proposed in the *Vestiges of Creation*, the progressive elevation of animal life is ascribed to a gradually increased prolongation of the first stage of the development of the embryo, in which the most general features only of structure are laid down, and from which it turns aside to acquire the more special characters of its adult form, at an earlier or later period, according to the lower or higher place of each species, in the scale of organization. It is very doubtful if our present knowledge of the laws of embryogeny warrants the generalization assumed for the basis of this theory, but the same religious objection does not apply to it as to the former; for the author is careful to refer the result to the pre-arranged adaptation of the Creator. His bias is rather to that form of deism, which regards the Supreme Being somewhat in the light of a human artificer of exalted powers, and which thinks to magnify His work, by representing the mechanism of creation to be so perfectly constructed in the beginning, as to go on thereafter of itself, without farther care on the part of its maker, like an elaborate piece of self-regulating clockwork. But the deism of this author is surely as needless a setting to his theory as the pantheism of Lamarck to the other. If it is conceived to be the Divine plan of operation to elevate the animal creation by a transmutation of species, effected in this particular way, it must be at least as reasonable to hold that the plan is carried out by the exercise of a continuous volition, as by the independent working of a pre-arranged mechanism, which, when once set in action, is ever after left to itself.

Indeed these two theories serve well to illustrate the tendency of the human mind to oscillate to and fro between pantheistic and anthropomorphic notions of the Deity, in its attempts to separate, in its conceptions of His agency, the idea of personality, as derived from our experimental knowledge

of ourselves, from those limitations with which it is necessarily associated in a finite being like man. In other respects, however, they are both now merely of historical interest, having ceased for some time to exercise any influence they ever had on scientific thought.

The very different position of Darwin's theory is probably due, not only to the literary and scientific merits, already acknowledged, of the work in which it was brought forward, but also to the suggestion of two agencies, which, so far as they go, are of real force, and must be allowed to play a part—at least as instruments—in effecting the transformations which are as essential to this scheme, as to either of the others. These agencies are what the author terms Natural, and Sexual Selection.

By natural selection Darwin understands the continuance of certain races, to the exclusion of others, in consequence of their progenitors possessing and transmitting to their descendants some individual peculiarities, which were favourable to their well-being, by giving them an advantage in the struggle for existence, which presses more or less on all living beings, so as in the lapse of time to extinguish those least fitted to hold their ground. The expression is suggested by the analogy of the artificial or intentional selection, by which breeders and fanciers effect such remarkable changes in the habits and conformation of the various kinds of plants and animals taken under their charge. Variations of different sorts are constantly occurring—especially among domesticated species, in consequence probably of deviations from their natural mode of life—and the art of the breeder lies in perpetuating such of these variations as he thinks of importance, by pairing the individuals in which they occur, and secluding them from the common kind. A selection similar to what is thus intentionally exercised by the breeder Darwin shows to be practically carried out in nature, only with this difference, that the standard of the selection is not its conducing to the profit, or falling in with the fancy of the breeder, but its tending to the advantage of the species itself; and the efficiency of its working depends on the simple fact of the survival of the fittest. In so far as any changes of character are of use, they help to increase the chance of the race weathering the influences which are opposed to its permanence, while, in so far as they are detrimental, they lead to its succumbing under their pressure.

Yet it must be admitted that there is something perplexing, if not misleading, in Darwin's use of the term 'Natural

Selection' in the course of his argument, or at least in his mode of manipulating it, if the expression may be allowed. In the first place, as is pointed out by the Duke of Argyll, in his *Reign of Law*,¹ there is something inappropriate in the very title of the work—'The Origin of Species by Natural Selection'—for though natural selection may explain why, when certain varieties have occurred, some should have a greater chance of permanence than others, it does not touch the *origin* of those differences among individuals, which, when amplified and perpetuated, give rise to a distinction of species. Then there is something perplexing, at least, in the assumption which pervades the work, that this natural selection somehow accounts for the progressive appearance of higher forms of life, as we advance from the earlier to the more recent phases of its history. The occurrence of the individual peculiarities among the young, which by their perpetuation and increase come at length to form points of specific difference, being in the first instance quite fortuitous—or at least unexplained—what is there to determine the general result in an upward, rather than in a downward direction, as regards elevation of type? Is there not here some ground for Sir John Herschel's objection, that it is too like the Laputan method of making books?² Granted that the weeding out of all varieties which are disadvantageously modified will, in the long run, perpetuate the more vigorous and better adapted races, still this is quite a different thing from its leading to a progressive, rather than a retrogressive change in the general type of organization, for it is by no means always the case that the higher forms of life stand their ground better than the lower. If natural selection results not only in the increasing perfection of species within their existing grades, but also in the eventual elevation of the animal organization by the production of forms or species, higher in the scale of being, its operation must be directed to some ulterior end—to something beyond the immediate adaptation of structure to the surrounding conditions.³

By sexual selection Darwin understands not only the greater facilities of vigorous and well-endowed individuals in securing fit mates, and their better chance, in consequence, of

¹ p. 230.

² Sir W. Thomson's *Address to British Association*, 1871.

³ See also the Note 'on the origin of species by natural selection,' appended to Mr. Pritchard's *Hulsean Lectures*, bearing especially on the optical structure of the eye; and similar remarks on the ear in Mivart's *Genesis of Species*, p. 279. Helmholtz's observations on the optical action of the eye do seem, however, to go so far to meet some of the difficulties started by Pritchard.

procreating a superior and more enduring race, but also the influence in this choice of certain tastes or instincts, which in some cases he certainly shows to be very remarkable. In so far, however, as these tastes, or instincts, tend to any higher or more remote end than is in relation to the immediate conditions of life, they are as inexplicable as any other agency leading to such an end, except on the supposition of the guidance of a superior will. To refer the progressive elevation of type, for which he contends, either to natural, or sexual selection, except as instruments in the hands of a higher power, is to personify these agencies; and this, if it means anything—if it is more than a mere figure of speech—is really but a form of pantheism. Against any such imputation it is but fair to set the author's distinct admission of a Creator in several passages of his concluding chapter, but one is compelled to allow that the absence of any direct acknowledgment of a guiding power above nature not only leaves an unpleasant impression on the religious mind, but must also exercise an unfavourable influence on general readers, as appearing to fall in with the pantheistic views directly advocated by many writers of the day.

Darwin's work, after all, covers but a small part of the wide field of Evolution, and so keeps clear of some of the special difficulties which beset its thorough-going advocates, in extending the application of the theory to the whole series of cosmical changes which have occurred from the beginning. Especially has their ingenuity been tried by the great divisions of nature, marking off, even to the popular mind, plants and animals, as fundamentally distinct from each other, as well as from inanimate bodies on the one hand, and the human kind on the other. For these several groups are separated by intervals or gaps, caused not so much by differences in the amount of elaboration characteristic of each, as by differences in kind. Thus living beings are marked off from inanimate objects by the totally diverse nature of the forms and structure, no less than of the actions peculiar to each. Plants and animals again, though both alike the seat of vital, as distinguished from merely physical actions, and by that adaptation of structure to function, which is expressed by the term organization, yet differ from one another in the *kind* of actions the organization discharges in each, and especially by the manifestation in the latter of the faculties of sensation and volition, to which we have nothing at all corresponding in the former. Lastly, Man, though truly animal, transcends all other members of that group, not only by the vast supe-

riority in degree of his psychical powers, but still more by the possession of moral endowments, different wholly in nature from anything manifested by the brute creation. And while we give especial prominence to these, as the most salient points of distinction, we must not forget that there are others also, which, if possible, of less importance, are yet perhaps equally inexplicable by the unaided theory of Evolution.

Yet it is to the power of the creature only that these intervals are thus impassable. Such gaps in the apparent continuity of nature need offer no real difficulty to one who looks on Evolution merely as a general statement of the continuity with which he believes the Creator to operate in raising the work of His own hands—and that not merely from a general faith in His almighty power, but also perhaps on grounds distinctly scientific. It is a principle with which we are familiar in other departments of inquiry, that the application of gradual increments of force of like amount is not always equally uniform in its results, for when once an opposing influence is overcome, there follows a sudden increase of apparent effect, quite out of proportion to the last addition. To borrow an illustration from a main source of our pre-eminence as a manufacturing people—when water is heated over a fire, we find that, up to a certain limit, the only effect of the continued addition of heat is a corresponding rise of its own temperature, but as soon as the boiling point is reached, a very different and much more energetic action ensues, in the explosive discharge of steam.

The interval which separates living from inanimate objects is that which the majority of naturalists would seem to regard as the most formidable difficulty in the way of any theory of continuous development. To estimate the real force of their objection it will be necessary first to indicate what is understood by vital as distinguished from physical actions.

To form a correct idea of vitality, we must not draw our conclusions simply from the manifestations of life, which, from occurring in the higher animals, are obvious to general observers, for here the most striking features are due to the orderly concatenation of the actions performed by the several parts of a complex structure. These parts are not to be compared to the flinty particles, or the calcareous crystals clustered together to make up a rock of sandstone or marble, but they are what are properly termed *organs*, that is, instruments adapted to perform special actions tending to the welfare of the body to which they belong, or, as physiologists express it, to discharge definite functions; and the higher the

animal is in the scale of being, so much more varied in general are the organs making up its structure. In this point of view the animal or vegetable fabric admits of a general comparison with a piece of mechanism, such as is constructed by human ingenuity, only that the natural machine is vastly more complex and highly finished than the artificial. It is true that the end or object differs in the two cases, much as it differs in natural selection and the art of breeding—the mechanism of man's construction has its parts fashioned and fitted together to carry out some purpose useful to man, while in the natural organization, or *organism*, the parts work together for the good of the body to which they belong. Still the analogy between the two is sufficiently obvious, and has supplied writers on Natural Theology with an abundant store of illustrations of the power, wisdom, and beneficence of the Great Designer, though the argument is one which needs to be handled with discretion, as liable to suggest to some minds anthropomorphic notions of the Divine Being.

But the very complexity of organization in the higher forms of life renders them less suitable to show wherein vital differ from physical actions, because their special play is masked by the prominence of the mechanical adaptation, in which principles of a purely physical nature are always largely concerned. It is to the species low in the scale of organization we must turn to observe living action in its simplest form. To sensible inspection some of the lowest forms of life present no organization whatever, and the same may be said even of the higher, if we confine our observation to their earliest germinal stage. They are merely minute masses of homogeneous viscid material or *protoplasm*, yet they exhibit characters which distinguish them from inanimate matter. They have that uniform composition which is known to chemists as *quaternary* or *ternary* (carbon, oxygen and hydrogen, with or without azote)—they present peculiar movements—they propagate their kind—they incorporate in their substance some of the surrounding elements, rejecting others—and they keep to a definite form or pattern, which is very constant, on the whole, in each species, though they increase in size, and generally, at certain periods in their life-history, they become more or less differentiated in their structure, indicating a tendency at least to organization.

The question naturally suggests itself, on what do these special powers, in such gelatinous particles, depend? Are they something over and above any properties belonging to the matter of which they are formed—something which the

young inherit from their parents, along with their bodily substance, but distinct from it—something which may be compared to the credentials of an envoy, giving him an influence quite independent of what is due to his natural address? Or, may these new properties be owing simply to some peculiar arrangement of the molecules of the protoplasm, which is admitted to be of a more complex constitution than ordinary matter? Molecular changes in a body do certainly elicit properties of a very different kind from what it presented before, and to diversified conditions of this sort physicists now generally attribute the various phenomena of sound, heat, light, electricity, and magnetism—why not then, it may be asked, those also of vitality? As the rythmical vibration of the particles of a body is the cause of its emitting musical sounds, may not some speciality in its molecular constitution be the reason of its manifesting the peculiar phenomena known as vital? May not a living differ from an inanimate body, somewhat as a sounding differs from a silent string? This is not the place to discuss so recondite a question, and one still so warmly argued in scientific circles, but so far as one can judge of the tide of opinion, the rising school of physiologists incline for the most part to such views, though authorities of great weight—as Dr. L. Beale—still contend strongly that vegetable or animal life implies something beyond a speciality in the molecular constitution of the matter in which it is manifested.

It must be allowed that such demur would be at once overruled were we to admit, with Dr. C. Bastian, and a large array of Continental naturalists, the occurrence of what is termed Spontaneous Generation: that is, the development of the lower forms of animal and vegetable life from molecular changes in dead matter, without derivation from other individuals of a like kind; but this is a point as keenly disputed as the conclusion it would avail to support, and among its warmest opponents are some of those best known as the advocates of Evolution. No more energetic repudiation of spontaneous generation has yet been put forth than the presidential address to the British Association in 1870, by Professor Huxley, who has since delivered a lecture at a later meeting of the same body, in which he contends with equal force for the automatical nature of animal life.

Those who look on the present aspect of nature, with all its variety of animal and vegetable life, as the result of the progressive evolution of brute matter, must needs hold that at some time or other, in the far distant past, a transition took

place from an inanimate to an animated condition of existence, and might therefore be expected—as is argued by Dr. Bastian—to look favourably on any indications of a like transition at the present day. If it could occur in bygone ages, why not also now? Moreover, if nature, as Lamarck contended, is daily engaged in the formation of the elementary rudiments of life by spontaneous generation, a readier explanation is afforded of the co-existence, at every period, of species of all grades of organization, than if only one initial change of the kind is admitted; for this makes it necessary to suppose that some races have undergone immense progressive advance, while others have remained for untold ages in their original lowly condition. The rejection therefore of this doctrine by some of the leading evolutionists, notwithstanding its adaptation to their theory, is itself some presumption against its credibility.

On the other hand, we have to set the experimental evidence of numerous observers of admitted competence, which seems distinctly to show that, with every precaution to effect the destruction of living germs, or prevent their access to the materials employed, still animalcules and low vegetable growths do occasionally make their appearance in organic solutions. And we cannot wonder that to many it appears more credible that matter may acquire by molecular changes a capacity for exhibiting vital movements than that the alleged invisible germs should possess an immunity from the heat of boiling water, or even higher temperatures, so uniformly destructive to all known forms both of animal and vegetable life.

But, however this may be, the disposition which seems to be gaining ground among physiologists, to regard vital actions as differing from physical, less in their essential nature than in their modification by molecular changes in the matter in which they are manifested, and the conditions under which they occur, affords ground perhaps for the presumption that the introduction of life into the Divine economy of creation may have been effected without any break in the uniformity of the mode of operation—without any such change, that if the previous plan of God's working is to be called *natural*, this would need to be distinguished from it, as *supernatural*, or *miraculous*.

A farther advance, however, from mere organic or vegetative life to the play of the faculties of sensation and will does compel most thinkers to draw the bridle on their imagination, and adopt the words of Hegel, that an animal is a

miracle for the vegetable world—so far, that is, as the animal creation involves the gift of psychical powers.

This reservation is necessary, because neither through the whole range of species, nor through the whole history of any individual, can self-consciousness be shown to be co-extensive with animal life. We have no proof of the existence in the lowest forms of endowments which can be distinctly identified with sensation, as it exists in ourselves or the higher animals. There is indeed *irritability* or *excitability*, by which physiologists understand action in response to impressions made on the body; but this does not of itself imply more than a pre-arranged adaptation of mechanism; for we are familiar with like effects in human contrivances, such as barrel-organs, or pieces of clock-work. These lower species are indeed modelled, to some degree, on the general plan of structure characteristic of higher forms; but the co-existence of psychical faculties is not only unsupported by any distinct evidence, but is opposed to the analogy of the embryonic development even of the highest animals, in which we find certain vital powers clearly indicated, and the type of conformation to some extent marked out before those organs make their appearance which minister to sensation and volition. It may be difficult or impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to draw any definite line to mark the grade of organization which is required for the play of the psychical powers; but there is no reason, on that account, to doubt that consciousness and will—though essential to our ideas of the full perfection of animal life—are superadded to its other distinguishing characters, only at a certain stage of development, in the case both of individuals, and of this division of nature as a whole.

But one may well admit in this sense that 'Body up to spirit works,' without holding mental action to be but the natural result of a certain degree of corporeal organization. And though it would be gratuitous to assert that such an advance, viewed as part of the Divine order of procedure, is inconsistent with a theory of Evolution, as necessarily implying a sort of break in the continuity of the plan of creation—seeing that to its Author all things are possible—yet, to our powers of conception, the manifestations of mind are so fundamentally different from those of physical energy, that it seems hardly possible for us to imagine how any scheme could be formulated by which the one might grade into the other.

The gap which separates the lower animals from our own species presents a very different aspect, according as we regard it in relation merely to their structural features, or to the

contrast between the intellectual and moral capacity of man, and the psychical powers of the highest of the brute creation. It is on these latter points of distinction only that we can found the assertion of a difference between men and animals, sufficiently wide to justify the use of the term *Hominal kingdom*, applied to the former by those naturalists who consider the human race a primary group in creation, as much as the animal or vegetable kingdom.

It may be allowed at once that the structural differences of man from the lower animals, though numerous, are comparatively of lesser magnitude in an anatomical point of view, and derive their importance mostly from their bearing on his superior intelligence, and the habits of life in conformity with it—such especially as his erect posture, and his power of manipulation; yet, as Mr. Wallace shows, there are some even of his bodily peculiarities not to be explained by the unaided operation of the laws of natural and sexual selection—such, for instance, as the large development of the brain, even in the most savage races, the constant deficiency of hair on the back, and the specialization of the hands and feet.¹

On the other hand, vastly as man's powers of thought transcend the psychical endowments of the lower animals, there is probably so much community of character between them, that it would be hazardous to deny the possibility of the latter being raised to the level of the former by a course simply of natural development, under the guidance of a Higher Power—just as some of the inferior species may have their faculties wonderfully improved and expanded under the direction of man—though, as they do not communicate their acquirements to their fellows or their progeny, this education of individuals does nothing for the civilization of the race.

But many who might admit the abstract possibility of human reason being merely a more advanced stage in the development of the intelligence of the brute creation, will yet fairly contend that facts are wanting to raise it above the level of a possible hypothesis. The transition, it may be said, if it took place at all, must have been one of the latest of the evolutionary changes; and yet it has left no race in an intermediate condition, as a relic of its occurrence; for it is admitted that the minds even of the veriest savages are distinctively human in their capacities, and that, under favourable circumstances, they are all susceptible of education in a totally different sense from any of the lower animals.

¹ *Essays on Natural Selection*, pp. 335, 345, 349.

Perhaps the most universal outcome of human reason is speech, while at the same time this acquirement must have tended more than anything else to promote its farther development. And whether we suppose speech, in its first origin, a direct communication to man from a Higher Power, or something excogitated by himself—invented possibly by some highly-gifted individual of the race—either theory implies a previous development of reasoning power quite above the level of the brute creation, for while no dumb race of men has ever yet been met with, none of the lower animals possesses, or can even be taught the use of language, in the most rudimentary form. Some few species, it is true, can be taught to articulate, but they cannot be said to use language, as they do not employ the articulate sounds to communicate ideas, which is the true essence of speech. It is remarkable, too, that the species which can be so taught—all belonging to the class of birds—are comparatively low in the scale, and owe the capacity probably to some imitative propensity, for the wide difference between their vocal organs and those of man renders only the more striking the inability of those higher animals to speak, which are endowed with more intelligence, and provided with organs apparently so much better fitted for the purpose.

Important as is the subject of the action of the brain organs in thought, from the position it is now taking among the causes of perplexity to some minds, in the way of religious belief, it is obviously far too wide for consideration in this place; and in the present connection it will suffice to remark that however close the dependence of the manifestation of the intellectual powers may be on the extent and variety of the cerebral organization, this gives us no help here, as the difficulty still remains of accounting for the abruptness of the transition from the brain structure of the lower animals to that of man.

But it is the moral aspect of human nature, which presents by far the most formidable difficulty to the theory of an absolutely continuous Evolution. For the essential distinctness of the moral faculties, in virtue of which especially man is said to have been made in the image of God, we must be content to appeal to the common sense of mankind. To go into an argument on the question, or enter on a refutation of the ingenious attempts which have been made to reduce the motive of duty, founded on a conviction of right and wrong, to a calculation of the balance of self-interest, would lead us too far from the subject immediately before us.

Only so much may be said, that the introduction of a moral element into creation necessarily implies a corresponding change in the relation of the Creator to his creatures. It is not that God changes his principles of action, but simply that the creature having powers of a new kind, which involve free will and consequent responsibility, the dealings of the Supreme Being are so modified as to become what we call the moral government of the world. Henceforth prayer becomes possible, and therefore obligatory on the part of the rational creature, and, with prayer, comes the reasonable expectation that it will be heard of God, and avail for the good of those who offer it.

Intimately connected with this moral government of God, is the subject of special interpositions on His part; but the popular meaning attached to the expression is so indefinite, as to give some colour to an invidious use made of it at times by those who affect greater precision in the use of words. Interposition, meaning literally interference with the work of another, for the purpose of effecting or preventing some result, is in this sense of course quite out of place as applied to the Divine procedure, for it would imply that the ordinary course of nature is so far independent of God, that it must be corrected from time to time by His immediate action, for the proper fulfilment of His purpose. But here, as in other cases, the use of language, borrowed—as all human language must be—from what falls in with man's weak and finite nature, need not imply imperfection or limit, when, for want of better, we use it in speaking of the Deity, or His ways. As we do not conceive of Him, as in human form, when we speak of the eye, the ear, the arm, or the finger of God—or of His being actuated by human passions, when we represent Him as moved by love or anger—so neither should we be supposed to mean, when we speak of an interposition of God, that the sequence of events is not really His work, save when we can see the immediate end to which He directs them. All that such language can fairly be held to mean is that, while in the general order of nature, we can discern only general purposes, there are times when the course of events is such as to suggest to our minds some *particular* end, as specially designed by God.

Or again, we may mean that, whereas in general men can discern a certain order in the Divine procedure, which we call the laws of nature, there are occasions when they cannot discern this—when, in the language of Scripture, God is said to 'make a new thing in the earth'—when a result follows

which even the most knowing cannot reconcile with their apprehension of these laws. Such events we term *miracles*—literally, wonders; and this literal meaning corresponds better to their real character than the popular idea of an alteration of the laws of nature—for as to the wonder—that is, the effect on the minds of the beholders—there is no doubt, but whether God really changes His mode of working, is a question quite beyond our power to answer. For all we can say in our ignorance, the newness may not be in the working, but in the effect—depending on new combinations of laws themselves unchanged. Perhaps even a fitter term is *signs*—a word applied in Scripture to all kinds of interpositions, and implying nothing as to their accordance, or disaccordance with nature, but referring wholly to the moral effect on the beholders, to whom such events are signs or indications of some particular purpose on the part of God.¹

If Evolution finds difficulty in bridging over the gaps which separate the great divisions of nature, still less can it grapple with the deep mystery of the original creation either of spiritual or material beings. 'All science,' as Professor Allman remarks, 'is but the intercalation of causes—each more comprehensive than that which it has to account for—between the great Primal Cause and the ultimate effect. For the Cause of these causes we seek in vain among the physical forces which surround us, till we are at last compelled to rest upon an independent volition—a far-seeing intelligent design.'² Creation must be admitted, else it is not Evolution simply, but atheism or pantheism, with which we have to do. All that Evolution necessarily involves is that the product of creation has attained its present complexity by a continuous course of progressive change. Of course it may be objected that there is an inconsistency in this, because the primary creation implies a greater discontinuity of Divine procedure than any number of subsequent acts of the same kind. Here at least all must admit a new line of action, when He, who, though threefold in His Personality, had existed from all eternity in the solitude of His Godhead, first went out of Himself,

¹ For various authorities in support of this view, see the Duke of Argyll's *Reign of Law*, ch. i.

² *Address to the Biological Section, British Assoc.*, Bradford, 1873. A similar conclusion is reasoned out independently, from the molecular constitution of matter, by Professor Clerk Maxwell, in a lecture at the same meeting; and from the forces or energies of nature, by Sir Wm. Thomson (*Good Words*, Oct. 1862), and Professor Jevons (*Principles of Science*, ii. 438)—authorities quoted by Bishop Cotterill, in his recent lectures on certain aspects of Science and Religion.

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as it were, to give origin to other beings besides Himself. Any such argument, however, would tell not only against Evolution, but also against progression; and yet God's dealings with His creatures are allowed by all to have a certain progressive character. Creation is, indeed, a mystery too far beyond our comprehension to give fair ground for any objections of this kind. The mind is altogether bewildered, when it essays to imagine what God's action was before that manifestation of Himself. Of His dealings with His creatures we may form some crude conception; but who will venture to conceive of His ways, while there were as yet no creatures on whom He might pour Himself out?

In considering therefore, thus far, the question of Evolution simply in its bearing on natural religion, may we not fairly conclude that, though this theory may present perhaps special attractions to those inclined to pantheistic speculations, it is not essentially bound up with any system of theology, true or false? The query it involves is not *by what power*, but simply *in what order*, things have been brought into being—it is concerned with the *how*, not with the *why*—it tells of method, but it does not, within its proper limits, pretend to disclose causes.

If this is a just estimate of its scope, it follows of course that it is capable of being associated with a true belief in a Personal God, and a worthy conception of His moral attributes, and that it may be pushed to its farthest logical consequences without necessarily coming into conflict with sound religious principles. It need not, for instance, interfere at all with the fullest confidence in the providence of God, or the efficacy of prayer; and if the evolutionist cannot explain *how* these are compatible with the uniform course of nature, no more can the religious man make it clear *in what way* God's being moved by prayer is to be brought into harmony with His immutable counsel and foreknowledge. The difficulty, such as it is, does not belong so much to the scientific as to the theological or philosophical aspect of the question, and has made itself even more conspicuous in religious than in scientific discussions. *Practically* there is no difficulty to one who realizes the being and character of God, whatever theory he holds as to His mode of working in nature. If man, who might seem to be born the slave of nature, as he cannot alter a single one of its laws, and too often allows himself to become their sport, yet may, and to some extent generally does become practically their master, turning them at will to his own purposes; why should we doubt that the issues of all things are in the hands of God,

their maker and sustainer, though His manner of working is beyond our comprehension.

The scientific truth of Evolution in general, or of any particular system, such as the Darwinian, is quite another matter. In this respect the doctrine must stand or fall according to the result of that searching inquiry, which its high pretensions as a theory of universal nature have reasonably provoked, but which is yet in too early a stage to warrant any decided opinion as to the ultimate verdict.

It is, however, probably on the ground of its alleged discordance with the Mosaic narrative of the creation that the doctrine of Evolution is generally objected to. Till of late years the common teaching of naturalists themselves was that man, and every distinct kind of living being, whether plant or animal, was created independently of every other; and by people generally this was regarded as an article of faith, set forth in the very first page of their Bibles, where the phraseology certainly falls in with this notion, if it is not actually suggestive of it. How then could it be otherwise than that many should recoil from a theory that plants and animals have been brought into being through some molecular changes in the elements of lifeless matter, and that the primordial forms of life so generated, gradually increasing in size and complexity of structure, were developed eventually into the variety of living beings covering the face of the earth, and gave rise at last to our own species.

This speculation as to the origin of man, which is the crowning feature of the theory of Evolution in the eyes of its advocates, is naturally that also which gives the finishing touch to its repulsiveness, in the popular esteem; for if the well-known words of the old poet—

'Simia quàm similis, turpissima bestia, nobis,'

show, how offensive to our self-esteem our admitted resemblance to the degraded apes has ever been felt; how much more distasteful must the similitude become, when regarded as the external mark of real blood-relationship?

Not that this consideration—however potent to influence popular feeling—can weigh much with minds of true Christian humility, who admit that every creature of God is good, and, at the same time, while acknowledging that by nature they are but dust and ashes, yet believe that if any man is in Christ he is a new creature. Rather, as it is argued in a recent work—

'If we be really descended from apes, and they from creatures lower still, it does, indeed, give a new emphasis to the phrase, "of the earth, earthy," and it gives a new and most marvellous aspect to that standing marvel of self-abasement, the incarnation of the Son of God, Of course, were our ancestors "marine ascidians," so were His, according to that human nature which it pleased Him to assume; and thus we should see Him, in a most wonderful and unexpected sense, gathering together in one, and summing up in Himself, all created life from the lowest to the highest. . . . I do not know why a Christian should be staggered at the thought of one unbroken continuity of life, from the lowest form of hardly sentient existence, unto Him that sitteth at the right hand of God; for, after all, the great gap in the cycle of life—a gap which seemed to be eternally impassable—was above man, not below him, and yet we know that this gulf which separated the highest creature by an infinite distance from the Creator, was bridged by the condescension of the Son.'¹

Still there remains, however, the 'Scriptural difficulty.' Here it is worth while to point out that if the literal phraseology of the Bible is inconsistent with some of the evolutionary theories, it is so in a much more formal way with the doctrine of the geological antiquity of the earth—a point now so generally conceded that in a note to a sermon lately preached before the University of Oxford, Mr. Farrar declares that the old explanation of fossil remains by a general deluge 'cannot be held any longer by any one, who will put himself to the trouble of examining conscientiously the steps of geological proof; indeed the persons, who in future assert it, must abdicate their claim both to impartiality and intelligence.'²

Yet the divines of less than half a century ago saw distinctly laid down, in the first chapter of Genesis and other places, the belief of their early years, that the earth, sun, moon, and stars, as well as all living things, both of land and water, were made about six thousand years ago, in the space of six natural days; while to the contemporaries of Galileo the immobility of the earth was quite clear from the same source, as well as from their own personal experience. Is it not written in the Book of Psalms that God hath made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved?

The fact is, that in every age of progressive inquiry, the time will come when the assiduous pursuit of some branch of human knowledge will at last lead to results of such established character as to command the general acceptance of

¹ *Sermons* by the Rev. R. Winterbotham, p. 308.

² *Science in Theology*, p. 101.

those who are conversant with it. And if these results be, as may happen, at variance with opinions which have come to be associated in people's minds with points of religious belief, an antagonism between the two is inevitable, till the accidental error can be disentangled from the element of Divine truth with which it had been entwined.

It can do no good, in the long run, to stave off this collision; for it must occur, sooner or later, in the general advance of education; and it can do nothing but harm to attempt a compromise, by such glosses either of religious or scientific truth as bring them into apparent harmony, only by leaving out of view the real points of difficulty; for these will at once suggest themselves to an inquiring mind, and the only result will be needlessly to protract a state of mental disquietude. If it is not in our power at once to give a satisfactory solution of the apparent discrepancy, surely the safer, as well as the more honest course, is to admit the fact, and refer it to its real cause—the imperfection of our knowledge, and the limited scope of our powers of reasoning.

That the conclusions which have been drawn from revealed truth should in some cases appear to conflict with those inferred from scientific research, need not surely, of itself, excite surprise, when we consider the difficulty at times of reconciling the results of different lines of scientific inquiry,¹ and how perplexing, on the other hand, to many minds is the logical outcome of such admitted articles of faith as the omnipotence of God, and the free will of man. As we may well be content to admit the truth of each of these tenets, without being able to see how their results fit into each other, so we may also surely assent to the truth of a scientific conclusion, when established on as satisfactory a basis as that kind of knowledge admits of, without either being able to show the manner of its accordance with the surface meaning of some Scriptural statement, or discrediting the latter on this account.

We have seen that European thought has long since passed through such an ordeal in the case of astronomical science; and, within our own experience, in that of geology. Why, then, should we lose heart in view of the controversies now pending, such as the dubious question of evolution, or the more certain, but still much disputed point of the exist-

¹ The immense length of time, for instance, required for the process of evolution, in the view of some of its propounders, which would exceed the limits of the possible age of the sun, as estimated by Sir Wm. Thomson, on physical grounds.

ence of the human race through long ages of pre-historic time—or as to any conflict of opinion which may yet emerge in the border-land between dogmatic theology, and inductive science?

Of the bygone controversies referred to, it is needless to say that the result has been not only the full acquiescence of theologians in the scientific conclusions arrived at, but their coming to regard these sciences as valuable handmaids of religion, in setting forth the glory of Him who is the maker of all things, visible and invisible alike. Shall we not from this learn a lesson at once of faith, hope, and charity—of faith, that we who hold stedfastly to the plain matters of revelation in what man could never have found out for himself, are inheritors of a kingdom which can never be moved by the upheaval of old beliefs in matter of human science; of hope, a sure and stedfast hope, that the advance of well-founded knowledge will gradually clear away the discrepancies which try, though they may not upset our faith; and, finally, of charity to those who differ from us, seeing how clearly the history of the past shows the liability to error even of such as are substantially in the right, and the danger of an indiscriminate condemnation of opinions, which, with all their falsity, may yet have in them some elements of truth?

If we now attempt to inquire how this good understanding has been brought about in any particular branch of science—as, for instance, in geology—we shall see cause to refer it mainly, if not entirely, to conviction of the truth of the scientific position, as established on independent evidence proper to itself, and very little, if at all, to the general acceptance of any interpretations of the sacred writings, which would bring the letter of the Mosaic account into harmony with such theories of geology as will commend themselves to the students of that science. That is, we have come to be agreed in admitting the truth of both, though we are by no means agreed as to the manner in which they are to be accommodated to each other; and we are content to ascribe this to our imperfect knowledge, and limited powers of apprehension.

As an example of such theories of accommodation, may be mentioned the suggestion of Dr. Newman, that as the real measure of time is the amount of work done in it, the 'six days' of creation, though in one sense they might correspond—at the present rate of progress—to our natural days, yet, in point of operosity, were really equivalent to untold ages; so that the work of creation need not have been done *per*

saltum, but might have been effected by as gradual a succession of stages as any evolutionist could imagine. Or Hugh Miller's supposition may be referred to, that Moses does but describe a series of visions, wherein the mystery of nature's birth was set before him, each having the character of a day's work of the Creator.¹ In calling attention to a qualified approval of this idea, in an essay by Dr. Pusey, read to the Church Congress at Norwich in 1865, Mr. Pritchard makes this striking comment on all such theories:—'Speaking, I trust, in a most reverential spirit, and with that caution and humility which the case demands, I feel bound to say that no interpretation of the Mosaic cosmogony, regarded as a description of the actual order, and actual duration of the creative steps, has yet been proposed, which is at all satisfactory to those who by study and preparation of mind are most capable of forming a correct opinion.'² However ingenious, and even probable, some of these attempts at accommodation may be, they are confessedly not such as we can hold with the same confidence, either as the scientific conclusions themselves, or the Scriptural statements, with which it is sought to reconcile them. In fact, their attractiveness to many minds seems mainly to depend on our being free to take them up, to lay them down, and to modify them at our will, without at all affecting the certainty of our convictions on either of the other points.

The principle here contended for is that our acceptance of a scientific theory should be made dependent, not on our estimate of attempts to harmonize such details, but on its own proper evidence. If we judge this to be sufficient, and if at the same time we have full faith in the Divine authority of Scripture, we must hold the two to be in substantial agreement, when they cover the same ground; for one truth cannot contradict another. But it may well be that we cannot see the precise mode of agreement—even as the Fathers of Israel could not reconcile the prophecies of the glory of Christ with the predictions of His sufferings and abasement. True believers might hold both—some with more, some with less fullness, according to their measure of faith—but to know in what way both found their fulfilment in Him, was reserved for the heirs of the new covenant. So now we may well believe in the perfect agreement of the truths worked out by the reason of man, with those made known to him by revelation, though it may be without perceiving how they are to be reconciled in

¹ *Testimony of the Rocks*, lect. iv.

² Preface to *Hulsean Lect.* pp. xi. xiv.

particular cases. Now we see through a glass, darkly, but in God's own time we may look for this also to be made plain to us, for the promise is that then we shall know, even as we are known. Meanwhile we must wait in faith; and it does not seem that we can hasten the result by crude conjectures of our own.

Now, if we apply this rule to the theory of Evolution, it must be allowed to stand or fall as it bears the test of scientific inquiry. It is probably, in any case, a question only of tenability, for that Evolution can ever take the position of a demonstrated truth is hardly consistent with the nature of the evidence. As yet it would appear to have received but partial countenance from men of science, and to be open to many objections, which, if they do not avail to upset the general doctrine, at least affect very much the form under which it may be eventually admitted as a probable theory of the universe.

Thus Mr. Mivart, while he contends very strongly for Evolution, and is disposed to allow considerable play to Mr. Darwin's principle of natural selection in bringing about the present state of things, puts forward very forcible reasons for concluding that the origin of species cannot be explained by the sole action of such a process in eliminating the variations unfavourable to survival, so long as their occurrence is absolutely promiscuous, but that there must have been at least a preponderance in one definite direction, impressed on these variations, through some laws as yet unknown.¹ Indeed Mr. Darwin himself admits, in a later work,² that he at first 'probably attributed too much to the action of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest.' Mivart inclines also to the view, that the production of new species depends, not so much on the gradual accumulation of insensibly minute changes, as on the occurrence from time to time of variations of sensible magnitude.³

So long, however, as the theory is on its trial before the court of Science, it is surely both unfair and unwise to put it under the ban of religion. Unless it can be shown that such teaching tends essentially to dishonour God, why should we fight against it in His name? And in what respect does it derogate from His honour, to regard His creation and government of the universe as one uniform and continuous course of upholding and elevating the work of His own hands—not as though He were tied to this by any necessity external to

¹ *Genesis of Species*, espec. ch. i. ii., and the Summary in ch. xi.

² *Descent of Man*, i. 152.

³ *Genesis of Species*, ch. iv. p. 98.

Himself, but simply because it is implied in the very perfection of His being that His course of action must, from the first, be so perfectly adapted to the ends in view, as to preclude the idea of change? Or how can it be made to appear that this conception of His mode of working is less worthy of Him than that which represents the universe as originated by many independent acts of creation, and governed by occasional miraculous interferences with the laws of nature, which He Himself has made?

This is very much the view taken by Mr. Greig, in a paper read before the late Church Congress in Edinburgh, where he speaks of the Divine action 'not as condensed into creative constructions and interpositional acts, but as *evenly distributed over the whole evolution of nature*. We can have no interpositions; and this, not from any impossibility in conceiving God as interposing, or making a break in nature, but simply from the impossibility of conceiving Him absent.'¹ The late Mr. Kingsley also puts the matter very forcibly in the preface to his last work (*Westminster Sermons*).² The new physical theories only ask us to extend the conception of Evolution from the development of the animal germ to that of the whole world—to believe that not individuals merely, but whole varieties and races; the total organization of life on this planet; and it may be the total organization of the universe, have been evolved just as our bodies are, by natural laws, acting through circumstance. This may be true, or it may be false. But all that its truth can do to the natural theologian will be, to make him believe that the Creator bears the same relation to the whole universe as that Creator undeniably bears to every individual human body.'

In regard to the Scriptural difficulty, the same author remarks that the term *create* is nowhere defined: 'The means—the *how*—of creation is nowhere specified. Scripture again says that organized beings were produced each according to its kind. But it nowhere defines that term. What a kind includes, whether or not it includes the capacity of varying—which is just the point in question—is nowhere specified. And it is a most important point in Scriptural exegesis, to be cautious as to limiting the meaning of any term, which Scripture itself has not limited, lest we find ourselves putting into the teaching of Scripture our own human theories or prejudices.'³ The same line of argument might be applied to the account of the origin of man, for though it is said he was formed of the dust of the earth—which we may understand

¹ *Report*, p. 65.

² p. xxiv.

³ p. xxvii.

to mean of the elements around us—nothing is said to exclude the supposition that between these elements being first endowed with the properties of living matter and the final completion of the perfect man, all those series of developmental changes may have intervened, for which evolutionists contend. ‘These,’ says Mr. Greig, ‘are purely scientific questions, and whatever answer science finally give to them, we need not be discomposed. Even the most extreme Darwinian view need not shock us, provided it is added, as it must be added, that such was God’s will and purpose. What the religious mind really recoils from is not any special mode of origin, however mortifying to our pride, but the idea that God had no hand in it.’¹ To make but one other quotation—Dr. Liddon observes, in a late university sermon: ‘Where he is describing the forms which may be assumed by the creative activity of God, Peter Lombard uses words, which, if I rightly understand them and it, read like an anticipation of the Darwinian doctrine as to the origin of species; though I am far from saying that the Master of Sentences, with his eye on the text of Genesis, would have granted this hypothesis as far as the modern writer would have pressed the theory.’

There are many reasons, on the other hand, why, in the interests of religion, every facility should be given for the candid and independent investigation of the theories of nature, exciting so much attention at present. In no way could so effectual an answer be given to the stale charge that the Church discourages a spirit of inquiry, and would keep its members in ignorance, that they may be more subservient to authority. It is true that for the inquiry to be of any advantage either to the student or others, a humble recognition of the limits of our powers, and a respectful attitude towards what is beyond them, are as necessary as candour and diligence within these bounds. But will not this be much better secured by the Church herself making provision for the guidance of students of natural science, than by discouraging such a line of inquiry altogether, as is done in some quarters, where there would seem to exist a suspicion that the study of the material creation has something in its very nature disparaging to the Creator?

Such a suspicion—though it may find a counterpart in the extravagances on the other side—is of course unworthy of serious consideration, being nothing else than a kind of

¹ *Report of Edinburgh Church Congress*, p. 267.

refined Manicheism; and its effect can only be to cause distrust among those who are striving in their several ways to search out the wonderful works of God, either in His spiritual or His material economy—joint labourers in the same field—a field surely wide enough for all to work in, without one jostling another from his place.

Theories of nature do undoubtedly present great attractions to many minds of a high order; and if they are fraught at the same time with special dangers to faith, it is surely the true policy, no less than the duty of the rulers of the Church, to provide special safeguards for those who are drawn under their influence, rather than, by crossing their natural bent, to repel them from orthodoxy altogether. Such an alienation of our choicer spirits must not only be to their own grievous loss, but must involve also the rejection of stores of knowledge of a kind most interesting in itself, and capable, if used aright, of becoming a powerful testimony to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, which it is the main office of the Church to promote,—a testimony too, which, in the present temper of the public mind, would come with special effect from this quarter.

In conclusion, we must beg the reader's patience for a few remarks on the position taken in the preceding pages. It may be thought that while the attitude of the exponents of science has often of late been of a defiant and aggressive kind, we have here represented them as receiving but scant toleration, and have taken up a line of pleading quite unnecessary in the case of those so well able, and so well inclined to maintain their own rights. We do not question but there may be some truth in this, though the insolent attitude on one side may found a sort of excuse in the jealous suspicion exhibited on the other. But, to speak plainly, the real reason for the line here taken, is the opportunity of putting the case fairly before churchmen. What good purpose could it serve here to enlarge on the aggravating language of our opponents? This would only be to widen the breach which we deplore. But if we can suggest to any, who, in their alarm at the progress of unbelief, would shackle the freedom of thought in all directions, that there is possibly another side to the question, there is some reason to hope that good may come even of this small contribution to the discussion of the subject.

ART. III.—NESCIENCE.

PART I.—*THE DOCTRINE OF KANT.*

THE doctrine of the unknowableness of God differs entirely from the theological doctrine that God is too great for us to be able to know all about Him, and that in point of fact we can only know Him, in so far as He has been pleased to reveal Himself to us. It is rather, at least in its later stages, as taught by Dr. Mansel, the doctrine, that our very idea and conception of God is impossible, because it contains as its essential elements notions which are unthinkable, and which are mutually contradictory and exclusive of each other. For instance, it is said, we must necessarily believe God to be Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause; but not one of these notions is realizable by the human mind, and, in addition, all three are contradictory and exclusive of each other. Again, it is further held, that we must necessarily believe God to be an Individual or Personal Being, but this notion is wholly incompatible with the notion that He is Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause. It plainly follows from this, that our idea of God cannot represent any actual existing Being, and that God as He exists must be different from our idea or knowledge of Him, *i.e.*, in other words, He must be unknowable.

No one will deny that these premisses contain a vast amount of explosive material. Let us look at some of the consequences. Plainly they involve the annihilation of Natural Theology. Natural Theology means that God is knowable; for it is an attempt to prove the Being and attributes of God on purely natural grounds. Natural Theology in fact collects together and verifies the elements of which our idea of God is made up. It constructs our idea or knowledge of God. But if the elements of which our idea of God is made up are quite unthinkable, quite contradictory and exclusive of each other, the knowledge of God which Natural Theology professes to give us must be wholly illusive. Nothing in fact can be imagined more complete than this annihilation of Natural Theology.

So far indeed Dr. Mansel was willing to go by way of deduction from his premisses: his very aim, in fact, being to annihilate Natural Theology, in the hope that he would thereby hew in pieces at one blow all the sceptical objections to Revealed Theology. But there are points beyond this which he does not seem sufficiently to have weighed. It is plain that the doctrine of the unknowableness of God necessitates our drawing a sharp distinction between God as known and God as He exists. God as He exists must be entirely different from God as known by us. We must, in fact, put God as He exists clean outside the sphere of our knowledge; for if even a shadow from the Divine Essence were supposed to come within the sphere of our knowledge, the admission that this is so would be perfectly fatal to the doctrine of the unknowableness of God.¹ But scarcely have we realized this necessary deduction from the premisses, when we find that it may be put in a form of words which, to say the least, is very startling. Since God, as known, is quite different from God as He exists, it is clear that God as known does not exist, and, further, that the Being who exists is not God in our sense of the term.

But this is not all. It may be asked, What guarantee have we for the existence of this Being who is so entirely different from the God we know? The answer must be, None at all; for all the presumptions and proofs to which men appeal when they wish to convince themselves of the existence of God vouch only for the God of knowledge, not for this imaginary Being, who (if He exists) is quite different from the God we know. If, for instance, we appeal to what are called the *à priori* proofs, they give us in reply the Infinite, the Absolute, the First Cause, *i.e.*, in other words, they vouch only for the God of knowledge. If again we appeal to the *à posteriori* argument, the answer it gives, is a Personal Author of Nature, that is, again, it vouches only for the God of knowledge. Thus our belief in God's existence must be a purely gratuitous act of faith, without a single rational basis, without even a probability to rest upon: for it is needless to say, if we were to allow any such rational ground, or probability, that would be equivalent to allowing that God was to that extent knowable, in other words, to a contradiction of the premisses.

¹ According to the reasoning of Sir W. Hamilton such a shadow known by us would constitute a predicate of God, in other words, a 'condition'; but to suppose that any 'condition' attaches to God is inconsistent with the idea of His being the Infinite or Unconditioned.—*Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 14.

But plainly Revealed Religion cannot be defended on this ground. It may safely be said that Revealed Religion must stand or fall with Natural Religion. Unless we can prove from nature the existence of a Personal Author of nature, Revealed Religion has no basis to rest upon. For—not to mention that Revealed Religion rests upon miracles, and that a miracle is quite incredible except upon the assumption of a Personal God,—Revealed Religion evidently means an intelligible message from God, but how is such a message conceivable unless we presuppose that God is Intelligent, *i.e.* is a Person. Hence the elder theology took its stand on the position, that the existence of a Personal God is an absolute certainty. 'We have a more certain knowledge,' said Locke, 'of the existence of God than of anything our senses have not discovered to us.' This in fact is the only ground on which Revealed Religion can be defended. For let us reduce the existence of God from a certainty even to a probability, and what follows? Plainly the *à priori* improbability which attaches to a miracle or a message from God, will exactly balance, if it does not outweigh, the degree of probability which we may attach to God's existence.

But the doctrine of the unknowableness of God reduces the existence of God even below a probability. As we have seen, it extrudes the Divine Existence, not only from the sphere of knowledge and certainty, but even from the sphere of probability. But it does more than this. It actually creates an improbability on the other side. A miracle or a message from God is inseparably bound up with the idea of a Personal God; for it is only a Personal God who can be supposed to speak to us or to work miracles. But the doctrine of the unknowableness of God proves that God cannot be a Personal Being in our sense of the term. How then do we know that He is a God who might be supposed to speak to us, or to work miracles? Plainly we cannot know, but rather, since God is not a Person in our sense of the term, the inference is the other way. Hence the author of *Supernatural Religion* appeals to the doctrine of the unknowableness of God as quite destructive of the only premiss upon which miracles are credible. It is in fact the only tangible argument in a philosophical point of view which he has to bring.¹

The doctrine of the unknowableness of God is in fact as destructive of Revealed as it is of Natural Religion. And

¹ *Supernatural Religion*, vol. i. p. 61 *seq.*

hence, when we turn to Mr. Herbert Spencer, who succeeded Dr. Mansel as the advocate of this doctrine, we find that both have disappeared. Mr. Spencer refuses to entertain the notion of a God existing who is different from the God we know; his conclusion consequently is not doubtful. After transferring the arguments of Dr. Mansel to his pages, the result at which he arrives is that—'Atheism, Pantheism, and Theism, when rigorously examined, severally prove to be absolutely unthinkable. Instead of disclosing a fundamental verity existing in each, our investigation seems rather to show that there is no fundamental verity contained in any.'

Happily the great body of the people live in a sphere which is quite remote from these subtleties; yet we should very much deceive ourselves if we supposed that they are without influence. They in fact lie at the root of all the higher scepticism of the present day, and exercise a wide influence on educated thought. They constitute, too, a kind of teaching which it is very difficult to meet, because of the abstruseness of the subject and the great weight of authority which can be quoted in its favour. When we mention the names of Kant, Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer as those who have advocated this doctrine, we have cited a succession of authorities than which no greater could be quoted within the republic of philosophy. No doubt the principle of authority within the realm of philosophy is universally disclaimed; but practically it exists, and nowhere with such force and stringency as on this very question. The subject is in truth so abstruse and difficult that few men except, under an imperious call of duty, would attempt to master it. And, in point of fact, there has been a disposition on the part of most people, rather to take on trust the results at which the greatest thinkers have arrived than to grapple with the subject themselves.

Hence in recent times there has been a tendency to regard the matter as a *quæstio judicata*; as standing to modern thought in much the same relation as one of the great generalizations of science. Thus popular writers, like Mr. Matthew Arnold, repudiate the doctrine of a Personal God as a figment of the past;² and, as we have seen, the author of *Supernatural Religion* appeals to the doctrine of the unknowableness of God as a thing settled, and which is destructive of the only premiss which would render miracles probable. On exactly the same assumption is based the view which is taken by the advocates of what is called 'The science of Religion.' It is

¹ *First Principles*, p. 43.

² *Literature and Dogma*, p. 13.

held that 'all religions spring from the same sacred soil—the human heart ;' and consequently are to be dealt with as purely subjective products. 'Religions,' remarks Mr. Stuart Mill, in his interesting *Essay on Theism*, 'tend to be discussed, at least by those who reject them, less as intrinsically true or false, than as products thrown up by certain states of civilization, and which, like the animal and vegetable productions of a geological period, perish in those which succeed it from the cessation of the conditions necessary to their continued existence.'¹

We purpose, in the present paper, to consider the doctrine of the unknowableness of God ; and at the outset we would state what it is that we wish to accomplish. We are not going to argue either on the one side or the other. Our purpose is rather to trace historically the different phases through which the doctrine has passed ; and while doing so, to signalize the material points bearing on the issue, and to point out their general bearing and import. It appears to us that this question has suffered from a too exclusive concentration of the attention on the theological issue, and that people have not sufficiently considered the general bearing of the arguments, and what they are capable of accomplishing in other departments of human knowledge. Most people, for instance, suppose that the arguments which prove God to be unknowable leave every other department of human knowledge untouched ; that the result, in fact, is, that everything else is knowable, and God alone is unknowable. But if it should turn out that this is a complete mistake ; that so far from this being the case, the very same arguments which prove God to be unknowable likewise prove the solar system to be unknowable ; that, in a word, the whole argumentation means blank, utter scepticism, disbelief in everything ; in that case, the whole complexion of the matter is changed. It is to this aspect of the question that we wish to direct attention. We are not undertaking to prove that God is knowable ; but if we succeed, as we hope to do, in showing that He is knowable, neither more nor less, but in exactly the same degree as the sun with his attendant planets is knowable, at least something will be gained. We shall then have attained a degree of certainty regarding God's existence, which is by no means absolute, but which will probably be enough to meet the practical wants of most reasonable men.

¹ *Inaugural Address of Prof. Max Müller to the Aryan Section ; Congress of Orientalists, 1874.*

² *Essays on Religion*, p. 127.

The history of the doctrine may be briefly stated as follows. It was originated by Kant from the best possible motives, as a weapon against scepticism ; and it forms, in fact, the distinguishing feature of the Kantian philosophy. From Kant, it passed into the philosophy of Sir W. Hamilton; but what is especially noteworthy, in Hamilton, it assumed a new and a totally different aspect. In fact, as I shall hereafter show, beyond the bare statement that God is unknowable, there is not a single point in common between the Kantian and Hamiltonian doctrines. From Hamilton the doctrine next passed into the hands of his disciple, Dr. Mansel, who, in his famous Bampton Lectures, used it as a weapon for the destruction of Natural Religion, under the impression that he would thereby annihilate at one blow all the sceptical objections to Revealed Religion. In Herbert Spencer the doctrine of Hamilton and Mansel, though remaining essentially unaltered, yet received a new and quite different import. The arguments of Dr. Mansel were simply transferred to his pages, and by him applied to the destruction of all religion, whether Natural or Revealed.

We have therefore first of all to consider the Kantian doctrine. And here we find ourselves in considerable difficulty. Kant's doctrine is inextricably bound up with his philosophy as a whole ; so that to state it at all, implies a statement of his philosophy as a whole. This, of course, we cannot even attempt. All that we can do is simply to select from his system, and signalize the crucial points bearing on the question at issue.

Let us first see what that doctrine of a Personal God really is, which the new doctrine was intended to supersede.

The doctrine of a Personal God is the result of an inference which every unsophisticated mind inevitably draws from the merest glance at outer nature and its order. 'The invisible things of God,' says S. Paul, 'are clearly seen, from outer nature, being understood by the things that are made.' 'You may talk as you like, gentlemen,' said Napoleon, pointing to the stars ; 'but who made these?' This *implicit* inference, which every human soul, which has not received a twist from metaphysical subtleties, is necessitated to draw, is to be clearly distinguished from the *explicit* arguments given in the schools. These latter have only value, in so far as they give explicitly an analysis of the implicit argument. And it is perfectly possible that they might, as analyses, be both defective and bad ; nay, they might very well be proved to be so, without at all affecting the cogency of the implicit argu-

ment. In point of fact, we believe that they are often both defective and bad. There are elements of cogency in the implicit argument, which none of them even touch; while some of them as arguments are quite bad. The argument employed, for instance, to prove a First Cause, is, we believe, a wholly vicious one; and the argument from design, as generally expounded, is given in a one-sided way, which greatly impairs its force.

Dismissing therefore the technical arguments, and confining our attention solely to the great implicit argument, let us see what are the conditions which are necessary to its validity. Being an argument from nature and its order to God, it obviously requires, as a necessary condition, that it be conceded, that nature and its order *exist*. For, plainly, if nature and its order do not exist, there is nothing whereon to base the argument.

Hence, we see that the argument is wholly overthrown by any system of philosophy which is an Idealism. Idealism is the denial of the existence of nature and its order. Idealism does not indeed deny that nature and its order do in a sense exist. But it denies that they have any inherent existence, any existence that is separate from, and independent of, the human mind. According to Idealism, nature and its order exist, only as modes of human consciousness, and have no existence apart from human consciousness. But this, so far as the argument is concerned, is the same thing as denying their existence altogether.

This, then, is the first crucial point to be noted in considering Kant's doctrine of God; for Kant's philosophy is essentially a system of Idealism. Kant indeed would have been mortally offended to have been classed with Idealists of the school of Berkeley and Hume, but he is an Idealist for all that, and even calls himself an Idealist—that is a 'Transcendental Idealist.'

His system may be briefly stated as follows:

According to Kant, all this outer world which we see, with its marvellous order and beauty, is a pure creation of the human mind. The human mind, according to him, is a wonderful mechanism, gifted with *à priori* forms, categories, and ideas; and this mechanism needs only to be set in motion, when straightway by means of its *à priori* furniture it creates, and projects or externalizes the whole visible world of nature by which we are surrounded.

Archimedes asked for a fulcrum, and with it undertook to move the world. That was but a poor undertaking compared

with that of Kant. All that Kant asks for is a sensation, something to set the mind in motion, and with this modest postulate he undertakes, not to move, but to create the world. In the Kantian system the world is nothing else but a series of elaborated sensations—elaborated through the *à priori* laws or forms of the mind. Two principal processes constitute this elaboration, that of the sensibility, and that of the understanding. Sensations come into the mind no one knows how; the only thing we know is, that the moment they come there they are subjected to these elaborating processes. First of all comes the process of the sensibility. The essence of this process lies in this, that the sensations are intuited, looked at (*angeschaut*) by the mind; and the result is, that they are encased in the *à priori* forms of the sensibility, space and time, and from mere sensations become intuitions, or phenomena (*Anschauungen, Erscheinungen*). In this condition they are handed over to the understanding to undergo a further process of elaboration. It is the function of the understanding, by means of its *à priori* categories, or laws of synthesis, to gather up these phenomena into bundles, make objects or material bodies out of them, and then to pitch them outwards into space, or, in other words, objectify or externalize them, where they constitute all that vast variety of objects and changes which we see around us, and which we call the world. Thus the whole thing is done. The world, with all its marvellous order and beauty, starts into existence as a pure creation of the human mind.

It is plain from what has been said that Kant held that the outer world which we see is purely *phenomenal*, i.e., is at bottom nothing else but our sensations or feelings variously elaborated. But, now, we have to notice a point, and it is the only one, so far as the question of Idealism is concerned, in which he differed from Berkeley and Hume. It was this. Whereas they held that the world is mere sensation, and nothing else, Kant was willing to concede the *problematical* existence of a real object, behind the visible or phenomenal one. For instance, if we look at some object, such as the sun, Kant was ready to allow that there might be a real sun, which acts upon our minds in the first instance, sets them in motion, and determines them, by virtue of their inherent laws, to create and project the phenomenal sun. This real object, which Kant called the thing in itself (*Ding an sich*) or the *noumenal* thing (as opposed to the *phenomenal*), if it exists at all, obviously exists out of, and independent of, the human mind. And it must be acknowledged that, had Kant given

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consistency and stability to this concession, and steadily adhered to it, his philosophical system could not have come in conflict with theology. For evidently we should still have had a real world independent of the human mind. And this real world, however unlike it might have been to the phenomenal world, would still have been a world possessing a definite existence and order; and, as such, it obviously stood in need of a Creator and Provider, just as much as the material world of common sense.

But the concession which Kant here makes is only an apparent one; for it is made under conditions which do more than neutralize it. In this case, indeed, as in so many others, the gift, which Kant has brought with one hand, he has rudely snatched away with the other. The reader, who has mastered the Kantian system, will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the existence of the noumenal world is exceedingly problematical, so much so as to be to us as good as non-existent. For grant with Kant, *in words*, that for aught we know, there may be a noumenal sun, which is the original cause of the sensations, out of which the mind by its *à priori* laws constructs the phenomenal sun, and then ask yourself what kind of an object, according to Kant, this noumenal sun is. The answer is—It is something which exists neither in *space* nor in *time*; it has neither *quantity*, nor *quality*; it is neither *substance* nor *accident*; neither *cause* nor *effect*; and it exists neither *necessarily* nor *contingently*.

How any one can imagine that such an object can by any possibility exist at all, it is not easy to see. But the reader will ask—Why is it that we cannot predicate any of these things of the noumenal sun? Simply because these particulars are nothing else but the *à priori* furnishings of the mind—the forms which the mind imposes on its sensations so as to deck them out, and sort them into the appearance of the phenomenal world. Consequently they have no application except to phenomenal objects, and are completely misapplied when they are predicated of noumenal things. In fact, we here touch the inmost thought and aim of the Kantian philosophy. We have here got the very weapon with which he combated and destroyed what he called Dogmatism. When Kant began his labours, he found Metaphysics in full efflorescence. There were *à priori*, or rational sciences of the soul, of the world, and of God; but, unfortunately, as then expounded, these sciences involved insoluble contradictions. Kant set himself to discover the source of these contradictions, and the result was, that he was led to maintain that they originated solely

from the fallacious transference to noumenal objects, of predications, which have a valid application only to phenomena. When metaphysicians, for instance, treated of the soul, or of the world, which are of course purely noumenal objects, they spoke of them as if they were substances and causes, possessing quantity and quality, and existing in space and time; and hence, according to Kant, arose the contradictions in which they were involved. He, on the other hand, maintained that these predications are valid only of phenomenal objects, and have no application whatever to noumenal things. The objects of the noumenal world, if they exist at all, must lie clean outside these predications—clean outside the whole sphere of our knowledge. They must, in fact, be entities, which are perfectly incognizable by any predicate or faculty, of which the human mind is in possession.

The reader will easily see, that we have here another reason for the non-existence of the noumenal world. It is perfectly clear that by taking up this position Kant has destroyed its very *raison d'être*. Why do we postulate its existence at all? We have no other ground for doing so, except that we may thereby account for the origin of our sensations. We have, in fact, no ground, presumption, or proof, that it exists except that it is the cause of our sensations. But Kant has completely cut this ground from under our feet. For plainly we can only believe noumenal objects to be the cause of our sensations by applying to them the category of causality. But if we venture to do so, we are, according to Kant, guilty of a paralogism. The category of causality is applicable only to phenomena. It is merely an *à priori* synthesis or link, by which we can unite and hold firmly together two phenomena as cause and effect. But it will not stretch beyond this. By no possibility will it serve as a cord by which a noumenal object can be tied on to a phenomenal. Thus Kant deliberately cuts the cable, by which noumenal things are anchored on to phenomenal; and, of course, the whole noumenal world drifts away into the dark and stormy ocean of illusion.¹

¹ We do not find that Kant anywhere affirms that noumenal objects are the *causes* of our sensations. He is not, however, above indicating it as a possibility, as for instance, in the following passage:—

‘Unsere Vorstellungen mögen entspringen, woher sie wollen, ob sie durch den Einfluss äusserer Dinge, oder durch innere Ursachen gewirkt seien, sie mögen *à priori*, oder empirisch als Erscheinungen entstanden seyn; so gehören sie doch als Modificationen des Gemüths zum inneren Sinn.’—*Deduction of the Categories*, First Edition, p. 567, ed. Hartenstein.

Of course Kant knew perfectly well, that the idea that noumenal

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But there is a further consideration which is really very pertinent. If I am guilty of a paralogism in transferring the categories of substance and cause to a noumenal object, who shall assure me that I am not guilty of a similar paralogism in transferring to a noumenon the attribute of 'existence?' Existence is the solitary cord which Kant leaves to connect the noumenal world with our faculty of knowledge. Of a noumenal object we may not affirm that it exists in time or in space; that it has quantity or quality; that it is substance or cause, but we may predicate of it a bare problematical existence. But we venture to affirm that every argument, which will debar us from transferring the attributes of substance and cause, is equally valid to forbid us to predicate existence. Existence, as we understand the term, is inseparably bound up with our present faculties of knowledge; as a predicate, it is as much a result of those faculties, as are the predicates of substance and cause. If, therefore, we are debarred from transferring to a noumenal object the predicates of substance and cause, on the ground that our faculties of knowledge are ordered only for the cognition of phenomena, for exactly the same reason are we debarred from extending to it the predicate of existence.

Thus the noumenal world of Kant vanishes wholly from human ken. Not only is it something totally different from the phenomenal world, which alone we know, not only have we no single presumption or warrant for believing in its existence, but since existence, like all other predicates, is applicable only to phenomena, it cannot even be said to exist. It is, in a word, pure nothing.

The concession of a real or noumenal world, existing out of, and independent of, the human mind, was the only thing that could have saved the Kantian philosophy from lapsing into idealism and consequent conflict with theology. The concession, however, being wholly illusory, we see clearly that the Kantian system is, and can be nothing else, but an idealism. It is, in fact, an idealism far more pronounced and decided than the idealism of either Berkeley or Hume, inasmuch as it is *reasoned*. The idealism of Berkeley and Hume was unreasoned; it did not profess to account for the origin of things at all; and what explanation it did give of the actual world was based on the wholly irrational principle of the Association of Ideas. Kant proceeds in a more trenchant and profound manner. His system from beginning to end objects are the causes of our sensations is, in view of his system, an absurdity.

is a clear sequence of continued argument. Only grant him his *à priori* forms and categories, and he shows by a chain of irrefragable reasoning how the world, with all its order, is the inevitable result.

And this leads us to remark upon another point, which, although implicitly contained in the foregoing, is yet so strange, and withal so important, that it requires to be specially noted.

Perhaps the most startling feature in the Kantian system—startling even to Kant himself, if we may judge from the frequency with which he returns to it, each time, with a fresh explanation—is, that the order of the world, or, in other words, the laws of nature, which men of science have bestowed such pains and labour in trying to discover, are nothing else but logical deductions from his categories. The order of the world is not, as the unsophisticated mind imagines, something which exists outside, and independent of us—something which we may be ignorant of, and which needs to be studied, in order that we may become acquainted with it. It is something which we ourselves, by the *à priori* laws of our minds, create, produce, and place in the world. There is, in fact, no other order in nature but what we have put there.

As this extraordinary tenet is pregnant with vast theological consequences, we must try to appreciate its real meaning and import.

There are four particulars, which, in a rough way, may be said to constitute the order of nature in the Kantian system. First, there is the order which is given to a sensation when it is converted into an intuition. Take, for instance, an eye-picture, such as we have when looking at a tree, or any other object. Its order is the order, in which the parts of which it is made up are disposed in space relatively to each other. Secondly, there is the order in which certain sensations, an eye-picture, for instance, certain tactile sensations, and a multitude of others not realized but imagined, are united together, so as to constitute an object or material body. Thirdly, there is the order in which objects so constituted are distributed in external space relatively to each other. Fourthly, there is the order in which phenomena succeed each other, in all the changes which take place in nature, the particular kinds of which succession constitute what men of science call the laws of nature.

Now, according to Kant, all these particulars, which make up the order of nature, are the *purè* creation, the pure product of the *à priori* forms of the mind. The *à priori* forms of the sen-

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sibility (space and time) compel us to give to sensations such as an eye-picture—which in themselves, and as they originate in the mind, are perfectly formless and undefined—the order of their parts in space and time. The category of substance compels us to unite a multiplicity of sensations, so elaborated and enformed, into a single object, and to give to this object its position in external space. The category of causality compels us to regard successive phenomena, as standing to each other in the relation of cause and effect; and in this way it gives to all phenomena their place or order in external time.

We see from this how far-reaching the Kantian doctrine is. When we speak of the order of nature, we take it for granted that the objects of nature exist; and by their order we mean the order in which they exist relatively to each other in space, or the order or laws which they obey in all the changes which they undergo in time. But in the Kantian system the order of nature extends to the very construction of the objects themselves. A sensation needs to be ordered before it can become an intuition; a multiplicity of sensations must receive a certain order before they can become an object; objects must be ordered, before they can be conceived as acting and re-acting on each other, and so giving rise to changes. And all this order—from the form or order in space and time which is imposed upon a sensation, up to the order in which bodies act and re-act upon each other—is the pure product of the *à priori* forms of the mind.

We shall see exactly how far this doctrine reaches, if we illustrate it by an example. Take, for instance, the solar system. According to Kant, the ultimate elements of that system are nothing else but a multiplicity of sensations—sensations, which in the state in which they arise in the mind, are perfectly formless and undefined, differ, in fact, in no particular from other sensations. It is we ourselves, who, by the *à priori* laws of our minds, have so enformed, sorted, and elaborated them, that they have become that wonderful whole we call the solar system!

We thus see clearly that, in regard to this matter of the order of nature, Kant goes a great deal further than what is usually understood by Idealism. Idealism, as usually understood, agrees with Kant in the doctrine, that the external world is nothing else but our sensations variously sorted or associated. But Idealism maintains that these sensations come into the mind *with a definite character, and in a certain order*. For instance, take the sensations out of which we form the idea, say of a table; Idealism maintains that they

come into the mind possessed of the character which they do possess, and in the order in which they do come; and it is this definite character of the sensations, and the order in which they are given to the mind, which determines or forces the mind to make out of them the idea of a table, and nothing else. In other words, Idealism believes that the order of nature is not a creation of our own minds, but is something which exists quite out of, and independent of, our minds.

But a little consideration will show that Kant could not have granted either of these positions without an act of intellectual suicide. For grant that a sensation—the eye-picture, for instance, of the table—comes into the mind possessed of extension, outline, and a mutual relation of parts, and what in that case becomes of the Kantian principle that only the *matter* of our sensations comes from without, and that the *form* is given by the mind? If the eye-picture of the table comes into the mind possessed of extension, possessed of any definite property whatsoever, then it would come possessed of *form* as well as of *matter*, and it would be quite untrue to say with Kant, that the mind imposes the *form*. Equally impossible would it have been for Kant to have admitted that our sensations come to us in a certain order, *i.e.* in an order not given to them by the mind. For such an order must be conceived as an order in space, or in time, or in both; it being quite impossible to represent it to the mind in any other way. But if so, then there is a space and time existing out of, and independent of, our minds; which of course flatly contradicts the Kantian principle that space and time are mere forms imposed by the sensibility upon our sensations, and that they have no objective validity whatsoever.

In addition to this, had Kant allowed that our sensations come to us with a definite character, and in a certain order, he would have made shipwreck of the fundamental thought, the very end and aim of his philosophy; which was to prove that man knows, and can know only, phenomenal things, and that noumenal existence—that is, existence independent of our minds—is quite beyond the reach of our knowledge. For plainly in that case we should know something noumenal; for we should know the absolute character of our sensations, and the absolute order in which they are given to us.

The great point, therefore, for the reader to bear in mind is that in the Kantian system the order of the world—from the order in space and time of the parts of a simple sensation, up to the mutual relation of intelligible parts in a system

so complicated as the solar system—is a pure creation of the human mind ; is in fact nothing else but the objective reflex of the *à priori* forms and categories of the mind. In a word, according to Kant, the objects which compose the outer world are what they are, simply because we have made them so, and they exist in the order in which they do exist, simply because we have given them that order.¹

And now let us see the theological consequences of this teaching. Plainly, it is the annihilation of theology ; for it destroys both the idea of God and the only warrant we have for believing in His existence. Our idea of God is simply that of the author or creator of the world and its order. If we ask ourselves the question, we shall on reflection find, that we have, *upon purely natural grounds*, no other idea, notion, or knowledge of God whatever, except that He is that Individual or Personal Being who communicates to the world its existence and order. And in like manner the only warrant we have for believing in His Existence (a warrant, however, which is perfectly sufficient) is the existence of the world and its order. But plainly the Kantian philosophy destroys both the idea and its warrant. For it teaches us that *the real author or creator of the world and its order is the human mind ; that the world needs, and is in fact susceptible of, no other author.*

This is a point in the Kantian system, which does not

¹ The following passages will show that in this account we have not exaggerated—

² Die Ordnung und Regelmässigkeit also an den Erscheinungen, die wir Natur nennen, bringen wir selbst hinein, und würden sie auch nicht darin finden können, hätten wir sie nicht, oder die Natur unseres Gemüths ursprünglich hinein gelegt.—Ed. Hartenstein, p. 582.

³ So übertrieben, so widersinnisch es also auch lautet, zu sagen : der Verstand ist selbst der Quell der Gesetze der Natur, und mithin der formalen Einheit der Natur, so richtig und dem Gegenstande nämlich der Erfahrung angemessen ist gleichwohl eine solche Behauptung.—*Ibid.* p. 583.

⁴ Dass die Natur sich nach unserem subjectiven Grunde der Apperception richten, ja gar davon in Ansehung ihrer Gesetzmässigkeit abhängen solle, lautet wohl sehr widersinnisch und befremdlich. Bedenkt man aber, dass diese Natur an sich nichts, als ein Inbegriff von Erscheinungen, mithin kein Ding an sich, sondern blos eine Menge von Vorstellungen des Gemüths sei, so wird man sich nicht wundern, sie blos in dem Radicalvermögen aller unsrer Erkenntniss, nämlich der transcendentalen Apperception, in derjenigen Einheit zu sehen, um deren Willen allein sie Object aller möglichen Erfahrung, d. i. Natur heissen kann, und dass wir auch eben darum diese Einheit *à priori*, mithin auch als nothwendig erkennen können, welches wir wohl müssten unterweges lassen, wäre sie unabhängig von den ersten Quellen unseres Denkens an sich gegeben.—*Ibid.* p. 576.

seem to us to have ever been appreciated. And yet it is perfectly clear when attention is once directed to it. If the only idea we have of God is that of the Author of the world and its order, and the only proof we have of His existence is the existence of the world and its order; and if we are taught, as the Kantian philosophy teaches us, that the world and its order cannot be the product of such a Being, but is, on the contrary, the necessary product of our own minds, plainly the existence of a Being who is the Author of the world and its order is gratuitous, unnecessary, and wholly unwarranted.

It is plain, therefore, that Kant, when he arrived at this point, had two courses open to him. Either he might have been content to let the matter rest so (and, of course, in that case the issue of his philosophy would have been Atheism), or if he still adhered to the idea of a God, he was bound to give a *totally different rendering* of this idea. And in this latter case it is clear that the God of Kant would be a Being wholly different from the God of religion and common sense.

It was this latter alternative which Kant chose; and we have now to go on to consider in what way he accomplished his task.

The new rendering which Kant gave to our idea of God may be briefly stated as follows. In his system God is no longer conceived as a Being, an Individual, a Person, the Living One, who is the Author of nature and its order, but as a pure abstract *idea*, as being in fact identical with our idea of the Infinite. In order to understand this rendering, we must again have recourse to the system of Kant, and consider it in a somewhat different point of view.

Up to this point we have had occasion, in connection with Kant, to speak of only two faculties of knowledge, the sensibility and the understanding: but in the Kantian system there is a third faculty—the reason,—which we have now more particularly to consider. In the system of Kant the reason forms the apex or keystone of human knowledge; and just as the understanding stands above the sensibility, so the reason towers far above both. Indeed there is a much greater distance between the reason and the understanding than there is between the latter and the sensibility. So much, in fact, is this the case, that it would be more true to say that the reason belongs to a wholly different sphere of knowledge. What occasions this essential difference is the wholly different character of the *à priori* furniture of the reason? The *à priori* forms of the reason Kant calls *ideas*; and they are three in number, viz. (1) the idea of the soul, or our own personal

existence, (2) the idea of an external world, and (3) the idea of the Infinite, or God.

It is of great importance that we should appreciate the nature of this difference between the reason and the two inferior faculties. It lies in this, that the ideas of the reason are wholly supersensual ; that is, they cannot be represented or exemplified in any possible experience. In this they stand out in striking contrast to the forms both of the sensibility and the understanding, which can always be so represented or exemplified. We have, in fact, only to look at any common object, or change, and in it we can see an instance or example not only of the forms of the sensibility, space, and time, but also of substance and cause, and indeed of all the other categories of the understanding. It is wholly different with the *à priori* ideas of the reason. They are pure ideas ; and, as ideas, it is their very nature to be incapable of representation in experience. To represent them in experience would, in fact, be to destroy their character as pure ideas.¹

¹ Perhaps a word more in the way of explanation may be desirable. We have in the text called the three ideas, the soul, the world, and God, in order to be intelligible ; but, strictly speaking, this nomenclature is incorrect, for the ideas only become the soul, the world, and God, when they are *perverted*—a process which is to be explained presently.

The three ideas will be best understood, if they are taken in connection with the three forms of syllogism, by which the mind reasons. Kant derives them from the forms of syllogism ; and his doctrine is, that it would be impossible for the mind to reason according to these forms, unless there lay *à priori* in the reason an idea corresponding to these forms ; for it is, in reality, the idea which begets the syllogism. The first kind of syllogism is the categorical—‘all men are mortal, John is a man, therefore John is mortal.’ This kind of syllogism may be carried back indefinitely by means of prosyllogisms ; and Kant holds that the idea, which underlies and begets it, is that of an ‘ultimate subject—a subject, which cannot become a predicate ;’ the mind being really in search of such a subject, when it reasons categorically. It is this idea, which, when perverted, becomes the idea of a personal or substantial soul. The second kind of syllogism is the hypothetical. ‘If the sun rises, there will be light.’ This syllogism may in like manner be carried back indefinitely by means of prosyllogisms ; and the underlying idea is that of the ‘totality or infinity of conditions or causes, which are necessary to the existence of every conditioned or finite thing.’ Impelled by this idea, the mind, when it reasons hypothetically, is led to add on cause after cause, till all the phenomena of outer nature are connected together into one whole ; and hence this idea in its perversion becomes the idea of a substantial material world existing in and filling external space and time. The third kind of syllogism is the disjunctive. ‘A is either B or C, or D, &c.’ The idea underlying and occasioning this form of reasoning is the idea of the ‘Totality or Infinity of possible alternatives ;’ and, as will presently be shown, it is this idea, which, when perverted, becomes our idea of God.

Now, it is the original ideas in their unperverted form, which Kant

Out of this there grows another point, which it is equally important for us to note. It is this, that the *a priori* forms of the sensibility and the understanding, just because they can always be checked by experience, can never lead us astray; while, on the other hand, the ideas of the reason, just because they cannot be checked by experience, not only do lead us astray, but are, in fact, so constituted as necessarily to do so. The reason, in fact, is the seat of the most dreadful illusions; so much so, that Kant, in his *Critique of the Pure Reason*, after exploring and defining the faculties of the sensibility and the understanding, represents the transition to the reason as equivalent to leaving the solid ground, and sailing out into a wide and stormy ocean, where many a fog bank and many an iceberg delude the unhappy mariner with the conceit that he is about to discover some new and great continent, and thus continually engage him in fresh enterprises, which can only end in bitter disappointment.¹

But although the ideas of the reason are so constituted as necessarily to lead to illusion, still it is to be remembered that this is only a peculiarity which is incidental to them. They have also a legitimate use; and this their legitimate use is of vast importance in human knowledge; so important, indeed, that without the ideas of the reason, human knowledge could never attain to any consistency.

We have, therefore, to distinguish between the legitimate use of the ideas of the reason, and the illusions of which they are the necessary occasion. And, as this is a point which is very essential to a right understanding of the Kantian doctrine of God, it must be particularly attended to.

The legitimate function of the ideas of the reason may be defined to be, the introducing of order or connection into human knowledge. As we have seen, all the particulars of our knowledge are manufactured by the sensibility and the understanding. But there is this defect or drawback attendant on our knowledge, as it comes from the workshop of these faculties, that it is *disconnected*. Each particular of knowledge stands only by itself, and has no connection whatever with other particulars of knowledge. We thus see that unless some principle of connection were introduced, human know-

says cannot be represented in experience; and that this is so is very evident, for we cannot even imagine, much less see or feel, 'all the causes necessary to the existence of a given phenomenon,' or 'all the alternatives which are possible in a given case.' As ideas they belong, in fact, to a sphere which transcends all experience.

¹ *Kritik d. r. V.* p. 209.

ledge would never attain to any consistency. The sensibility and the understanding would act quite blindly, and would only succeed in accumulating a mass of disjointed particulars.

It is the legitimate function of the reason to introduce connection into our knowledge. The three ideas which lie in it *à priori* are calculated and intended to be, as it were, centres or nuclei, around which the disjointed fragments of human knowledge may gather. In point of fact, we do find that there are just three centres around which all our knowledge is arranged, viz. the soul, the external world, and God. And according to Kant, this result is brought about by the operation of the reason. The reason supplies to the understanding the three ideas which serve as nuclei, and the understanding, following the rule thus prescribed to it, arranges our knowledge accordingly.

This, then, according to Kant, is the sole legitimate function of the ideas of the reason ; and now let us see the illusions into which the misuse of these ideas necessarily leads us.

According to Kant, the three ideas of the reason are mere ideas, without any objective validity whatsoever. They exist in the reason simply as ideas, and their sole legitimate function is to serve as mere centres, or poles of attraction, for the disjointed elements of our knowledge. They never were meant or intended for any other purpose. But, unhappily, our reason is so constituted, that we cannot rest content with regarding them merely in this their sole legitimate light. By a series of illusive transformations we change these ideas into *realities*. We attribute to them a real substantial external existence. We delude ourselves, in fact, with the notion that we have a real personal existence as human beings, that there is a real and substantial external world outside, and opposite to us, and that there is a God who is the author and source of all existence.

Such is a brief outline of Kant's doctrine of the reason, and the reader will easily see what a great advantage to our argument it would be, if we could give an account of the Kantian doctrine of the perversion of each of these ideas ; for in some respects Kant deals out severer measure to our belief in our personal existence, and in an external world, than he does to our belief in God. But such an undertaking in the brief space to which we are limited would be quite impossible. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves solely to an exposition of the Kantian doctrine of the perversion of the third idea.

Perhaps the following statement may convey to the reader some notion of the genesis of this idea in the human reason, and the Kantian doctrine of its sole legitimate function.

It is to be observed, that we can only know a thing by comparing it with something else. We can only know the magnitude of a molehill by comparing it with the magnitude of a mountain, and all other magnitudes; we can only know its colour by comparing it with all other colours; and so of every other peculiarity which attaches to the molehill. Thus, in every act of knowledge, there is a reference to something else. And this reference is absolutely essential to knowledge,—so necessary, that without it there would be no knowledge. A blind man, for instance, has no knowledge of darkness, because he has none of light; and an ignorant man has no knowledge of his ignorance, because he has none of knowledge.

Now, what does this reference to something else imply? Obviously, since we can only have *some* knowledge of a thing by comparing it with *something else*, it is implied that we can only have a *perfect* knowledge of a thing by comparing it with *everything else*, or, in other words, with every possible attribute or predicate. Thus, there lies at the root of all human knowledge, and as a condition of its possibility, a pre-supposition; the pre-supposition, viz. of the sum total of all possible predicates. We can only know a thing in proportion to the number of these predicates that we already know, and with which we compare it; and a perfect knowledge of a thing (which, however, must be quite unattainable by man) would only be possible, on the condition of our knowing all possible predicates, and comparing the thing we desire to know with them.

Now, what is the nature of this pre-supposition? It is nothing else but the idea of the Infinite. According to Kant, the idea of the Infinite, in its simplest form, is nothing else but the idea of the aggregate or sum total (*Inbegriff*) of all that is possible, or of all possible predicates. And Kant holds that it lies *à priori*, as the third idea in the human reason, and that its end or function is simply to be *regulative*, i.e. to prescribe a rule to the understanding whereby it may perfect its knowledge. It, in effect, says to the understanding:—‘Strive after a more perfect knowledge of things; and for this purpose seek out as many predicates belonging to the Infinite as you possibly can, with which to compare the thing you wish to know.’ Without such a rule, Kant holds, the understanding would act quite blindly, and never would attain to any knowledge at all.

Such is Kant's account of the idea of the Infinite in its simplest form ; and we see at once that nothing can be more unlike our idea of God both in its essence and its purpose. If, in fact, this idea is to be changed into our idea of God, clearly, this can only take place by a total perversion. And this is exactly the doctrine of Kant. It is by a series of wholly illusive transformations, that mankind have changed this useful idea or pre-supposition of the reason into the idea of the God of religion and theology. And we have now to go on to consider what these transformations really are.

The *first* of these transformations is the change of the idea into an ideal. It is to be observed that an idea can only be a definite object to the mind when exemplified *in concreto*, i.e. in an example. We have, for instance, an idea of virtue in the mind ; but this idea can only be realized by the mind when we recognize it in some person or action which is virtuous. An ideal, however, is something more than an idea *in concreto*, it is an idea *in individuo* ; that is to say, it is an individual object constructed in the imagination by means of an idea, and embodying in itself all that is contained in the idea ; or, as Kant would say, determined solely by the idea. Thus, wisdom is an idea ; and the wise man of the Stoics is the corresponding ideal. In regard to this last instance, we see, that the ideal wise man is an individual being constructed by the mind out of the idea ; that he receives all the predicates he possesses from the idea ; and that he is, in fact, nothing else but the embodiment of the idea in an individual. Nor is this conversion of the idea into an ideal an arbitrary proceeding. It is necessary ; for in no other way can the mind contemplate the idea in all its purity.

Now in precisely the same way, having in our reason the *à priori* idea of all possible predicates, we embody this idea in an individual object. This individual object is constructed out of the idea ; it receives all the predicates contained or involved in the idea. And since these predicates are nothing less than an infinity, viz. all possible predicates, the individual being, so constructed, becomes THE IDEAL of the human reason.

The *second* transformation is far more important. It is nothing less than the change of the Ideal from the All of possibility into the All of reality. As we have seen, the Ideal is an individual being constructed out of, or as Kant would say, determined by the idea. But the moment we begin to look into the Ideal, to see what predicates may be contained in it, we find that it can contain nothing else but

what is *real*. For the unreal (*Nichtseyn*) is a mere negation ; it is a thing which cannot be known without presupposing the real ; being in fact nothing else but the absence or non-existence of the real. All negative predicates therefore are excluded from the Ideal, and only positive ones, those which express reality, are contained in it ; and hence it follows, that the Ideal which we presuppose in our reason as a kind of reservoir out of which we are to draw all the predicates of things, must be thought, as nothing else, but the All of reality (*Omnitudo Realitatis*).

The *third* transformation follows out of the second. It is the attribution to our Ideal of a real or noumenal existence. For since our Ideal contains within it nothing but that which is real ; since, in fact, it is the original reservoir whence all reality is derived, it must be a noumenal object, a *Ding an sich selbst*. It is, in fact, in the language of the schools, the *Ens realissimum*, the Ideal of Reality.

Fourthly, when we have arrived thus far we find that we have laid the foundations of an *à priori* science of Rational Theology. The *Ens realissimum* thus conceived may be completely determined in a strict scientific manner. It may, for instance, be defined as one, simple, all-sufficient, infinite, eternal, and so on. It is, however, quite unnecessary to enlarge in this direction. All that need be done is to specify the three principal aspects in which the Ideal of the human reason has been regarded.

The first is that of the Infinite simply, the *Omnitudo Realitatis*. In this point of view, the Infinite alone can be said truly to exist ; all finite things being conceived as nothing else but negations, limitations of the Infinite. Finite things are but aspects, parts of the Infinite ; so much of the Infinite being predicated of them, so much excluded. As Sir W. Hamilton would say, all the objects that we know are but so much

‘Won from the void and formless Infinite.’

The second aspect of the Ideal is that of the Absolute, or *Prototypon Ideale* ; of which all finite things are *ectypa* or imperfect copies. In this point of view, the Ideal, although it communicates being, *i.e.* predicates, to finite things, is yet not regarded as identified with them ; but rather as standing high apart, and above them ; as having its true existence deep in the recesses of the ideal world, where it exists out of all relation, and in absolute perfection. It is the pattern of

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perfection, after which all finite things strive, but which they never can attain unto.

The third aspect, in which the Ideal is regarded, is that of First Cause. In this point of view the derivation of finite things from the Infinite is viewed, not as under the first point of view, in the light of a limitation; but rather as taking place through a series or chain of consequences of which the Infinite is the ground or source. This point of view has the advantage, that it can find a place in the finite world for things, which it would be wholly unsuitable to regard as component parts of the Infinite.

The *fifth* and last transformation is that by which the *Deus* of Rational Theology is fairly personified, and becomes the God of religion and revelation—the Living God.

Such is a brief outline of the new rendering which Kant gave to our idea of God, when he overthrew, as he supposed, the old foundations of Theology. And now, if we attend to what has been said, we shall see exactly the sense in which Kant held the doctrine of the Unknowableness of God.

There are three different ways in which Kant might be said to hold this doctrine.

In the *first place*, if we confine our attention to the series of transformations by which the *à priori* idea of all possible predicates, which has its seat in the human reason, is changed into the idea of God, we might say that God is unknowable because this series of changes by which we form to ourselves the idea of God is wholly illusive. According to Kant this *à priori* idea exists in the reason, solely for cognitive purposes. Just as it is the function of the understanding, by means of its categories, to prescribe rules to the imagination (*Einbildungskraft*), whereby it is enabled to form images of things, so it is the function of the reason, by means of its idea of all possible predicates, to prescribe a rule to the understanding, whereby it is enabled to perfect its knowledge of things. The idea of an infinity of possible predicates, Kant tells us, exists exclusively for this end. And consequently the series of transformations by which human reason changes this idea into the idea of a Being who is Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause, is not real knowledge, but pure illusion (*Schein*.)

The Christian theologian, however, might very pertinently reply: Granted that all this is so; and what follows? Certainly not what is here supposed. For, after all, this idea of all possible predicates *is not the source of our idea of God*,

noumenal sun really is. And so it is with the noumenal God. We literally have not a single predicate that we can apply to Him: He wholly eludes our faculty of knowledge.

Such is Kant's doctrine of the unknowableness of God. And now the reader must judge, whether we were justified or not in saying that the arguments, by which God is proved to be unknowable, mean Scepticism.

Thus much, at least, is perfectly plain, that precisely the same arguments which, in the Kantian system, prove our idea of God to be illusive, prove likewise our ideas of the external world, and of our own personal selves, to be illusive. We look abroad, for instance, on the visible world, far into the depths of boundless space, and there we see, as we suppose, a vast multiplicity of worlds and systems; or we go back in thought far into the recesses of geological time, where we conjure up eras in the world's existence when all things were different from what they are now; and so we construct in our imagination the idea of material nature as a vast and magnificent whole—a whole existing in, and filling an immeasurable expanse both in space and in time. But, according to Kant, *the whole of this is an illusion*. It is, in fact, only the perversion of a very simple and useful *à priori* idea, which exists as the second in the human reason. For just as we have an idea of 'All possible predicates,' which we pervert into the illusive imagination of a Being who is Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause, so there is in the reason an idea of the 'totality of the conditions or causes, which are necessary to the existence of every conditioned or finite thing,' which we pervert into the wholly illusive imagination of a world existing in, and filling space and time. The idea of the totality of conditions, like the idea of all possible predicates, Kant holds, was given us only for cognitive purposes. It was given, solely, as a rule for the understanding; enjoining upon the understanding never to rest satisfied with the conditions or causes it may know, but to seek out ever fresh conditions, and thereby connect its knowledges on to each other, so that they may form a symmetrical or reasoned whole. It is a total perversion, when this useful idea is converted into the idea of a real and substantial external world existing out of, and independent of, the human mind.

And so it is with the idea of our own personal existence. It, in like manner, is another similar perversion of a third *à priori* idea existing in the reason.

Clearly, therefore, according to the system of Kant, just as much of unknowableness attaches to our own personal exist-

ence, and to the external world, as does to God; and the idea or knowledge which we suppose we have of these is just as *illusory* as is our knowledge of God.

But it may be said,—Is this really Scepticism? Is it not rather the wholesome doctrine of the *limitation of human knowledge*?

Now, if it were so, that the effect of the Kantian philosophy were merely to teach the doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge; if its effect were just this—to teach that, situated as we are, we can know neither God, the world, nor the human soul, as they are in themselves, but must be contented with a secondary, relative, and imperfect knowledge of them: such a doctrine, so far from being scepticism, would be quite in harmony with genuine Christian doctrine. For, after all, we cannot know God, material things, or even our own souls, perfectly. We only know God in so far as He has revealed Himself to us in the pages of nature and revelation; we only know the world in so far as it exists in space and time, and affects our organism; we only know ourselves in so far as we are conscious of our actions in the successive circumstances in which we are placed.

But a little consideration will show, that the effect of the Kantian philosophy is not simply to teach such a wholesome doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge; it goes a great deal further, and is, in fact, nothing else but a system of absolute Scepticism.

For what do we mean by Scepticism? We mean by Scepticism the falsification of human knowledge, of such knowledge as we actually do possess. We have said that we cannot know things as they are in themselves; that all that we can know, is only certain secondary, relative and imperfect manifestations of things. Now, the position of Scepticism is this. Whereas, the doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge holds these manifestations to be true and real, and to give us a knowledge of the things of which they are the manifestations, which, though not complete, is true and real as far as it goes, Scepticism maintains that these manifestations give us no knowledge of things at all, but, on the contrary, are wholly factitious, false, and fallacious.

As this is a point of great importance in reference to the doctrine of the knowableness or unknowableness of God, we may be permitted to explain it a little further.

It is to be observed, that all that is needed to establish the doctrine of the knowableness of God, as opposed to the doctrine of his unknowableness, is simply, that it be con-

what is *real*. For the unreal (*Nichtseyn*) is a mere negation ; it is a thing which cannot be known without presupposing the real ; being in fact nothing else but the absence or non-existence of the real. All negative predicates therefore are excluded from the Ideal, and only positive ones, those which express reality, are contained in it ; and hence it follows, that the Ideal which we presuppose in our reason as a kind of reservoir out of which we are to draw all the predicates of things, must be thought, as nothing else, but the All of reality (*Omnitudo Realitatis*).

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perfection, after which all finite things strive, but which they never can attain unto.

The third aspect, in which the Ideal is regarded, is that of First Cause. In this point of view the derivation of finite things from the Infinite is viewed, not as under the first point of view, in the light of a limitation; but rather as taking place through a series or chain of consequences of which the Infinite is the ground or source. This point of view has the advantage, that it can find a place in the finite world for things, which it would be wholly unsuitable to regard as component parts of the Infinite.

The *fifth* and last transformation is that by which the *Deus* of Rational Theology is fairly personified, and becomes the God of religion and revelation—the Living God.

Such is a brief outline of the new rendering which Kant gave to our idea of God, when he overthrew, as he supposed, the old foundations of Theology. And now, if we attend to what has been said, we shall see exactly the sense in which Kant held the doctrine of the Unknowableness of God.

There are three different ways in which Kant might be said to hold this doctrine.

In the *first place*, if we confine our attention to the series of transformations by which the *à priori* idea of all possible predicates, which has its seat in the human reason, is changed into the idea of God, we might say that God is unknowable because this series of changes by which we form to ourselves the idea of God is wholly illusive. According to Kant this *à priori* idea exists in the reason, solely for cognitive purposes. Just as it is the function of the understanding, by means of its categories, to prescribe rules to the imagination (*Einbildungskraft*), whereby it is enabled to form images of things, so it is the function of the reason, by means of its idea of all possible predicates, to prescribe a rule to the understanding, whereby it is enabled to perfect its knowledge of things. The idea of an infinity of possible predicates, Kant tells us, exists exclusively for this end. And consequently the series of transformations by which human reason changes this idea into the idea of a Being who is Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause, is not real knowledge, but pure illusion (*Schein*.)

The Christian theologian, however, might very pertinently reply: Granted that all this is so; and what follows? Certainly not what is here supposed. For, after all, this idea of all possible predicates *is not the source of our idea of God*,

has not, in fact, the remotest possible connection with it. Consequently the series of transformations by which it is changed into God are thy illusions, O Kant, even thine. They are not the illusions of human reason.

The tendency of this first sense, in which Kant held the doctrine of the unknowableness of God, is clearly in the direction of Atheism, inasmuch as he proves that our idea of God is a pure illusion. But we should very much misunderstand the *animus* of Kant, if we imagined that he had any sympathy with Atheism. On the contrary, the very end he has in view is the overthrow of Atheism. If he strives hard to banish God from human knowledge, it is only that he may, at the same time, banish from human knowledge all sceptical assaults on the being of God. In this way he would be able to establish the existence of God, on what he thought a securer foundation, the foundation, viz. of *faith* as opposed to *knowledge*. If his critique of pure reason is intended to destroy the existence of God as an object of knowledge, his critique of practical reason is intended to establish God's existence as an object of faith. Although, therefore, Kant's whole speculative system is intended to disprove God's existence, still the existence of God must always be regarded by him as a possibility. And hence he could not dispense with an examination of those arguments to which mankind are in the habit of appealing when they wish to prove the existence of God.

We thus see the *second* sense, in which Kant held that God is unknowable. He is so because all the arguments used to prove His existence are quite insufficient and fallacious.

We do not intend to examine Kant's criticism of the arguments used to prove the being of a God. All that we would do is to draw attention to a point in that criticism which is habitually overlooked; and which, it must be confessed, Kant, with a characteristic want of candour, keeps completely in the background. The point we allude to is this,—that all the life and force of these arguments has already been destroyed by the Kantian philosophy. The very marrow of the proofs of God's existence lies in this,—that the thought of the world and its order is an imperfect, incomplete, and consequently impossible thought, without the complementary thought of God as its Author. The Kantian philosophy plainly allows the impossibility of thinking the world and its order apart from *an author*; because, in destroying the idea of God as its Author, it had to find another author; that is to say, the human mind. Yet this, which is really the *punctum saliens* of the whole ques-

tion, Kant keeps completely in the background.¹ No wonder, therefore, that his refutation of these arguments is complete and triumphant.

However, the point which we have to note is, that by thus destroying the cogency of the arguments for the being of a God, he to that extent establishes his doctrine of the unknowableness of God. And this is the second sense, in which he may be said to hold that doctrine.

The *third* and last sense in which Kant holds the doctrine of the unknowableness of God is based on his doctrine of the unknowableness of all noumenal existence.

We have seen that, although Kant maintains that all the objects which we see around us in the outer world are pure *phenomena*, i.e. are the creation of our own minds, he still allows that problematically, and for aught we know, there may exist real or noumenal objects behind or under these phenomena. The sun, for instance, which we see in the heavens, is a pure phenomenon, a pure creation of our own minds; but there may, for aught we know, be behind the phenomenon a real or noumenal sun. Now, just in the same way, although our idea of God is wholly illusive, and every argument by which we prove His existence is fallacious, still there may exist behind our idea a real or noumenal God. The original of our idea of God is an idea of the Infinite, which has its seat in the human reason; and just as there may be behind the phenomenal sun a noumenal one, so there may be behind this idea of the Infinite a real or noumenal Infinite, who is God.

But if so, this real or noumenal God must be wholly unknowable. Why? Because *all* noumenal existence is unknowable. Let the reader recall to mind what we have already remarked in regard to the noumenal sun—that it is something which exists neither in *space* nor in *time*, something which has neither *quantity* nor *quality*, something which is neither *cause* nor *effect*, neither *substance* nor *accident*; nay, as we have shown, that it is something of which we cannot even say that it *exists*—and he will see how wholly unknowable the

¹ For instance, in examining the argument from design, why did he not say at once: 'But I have proved the order of the world to be the product of the human mind; consequently the inference from it, to a Divine Author, cannot stand?' Instead of this he throws dust in people's eyes, by the pretence that the design argument proves only an architect, not God, or the Infinite. Of course, if we accept the Kantian system, it proves just nothing at all.

Another instance of Kant's want of candour was his adding in the second edition a pretended refutation of Idealism!

noumenal sun really is. And so it is with the noumenal God. We literally have not a single predicate that we can apply to Him: He wholly eludes our faculty of knowledge.

Such is Kant's doctrine of the unknowableness of God. And now the reader must judge, whether we were justified or not in saying that the arguments, by which God is proved to be unknowable, mean Scepticism.

Thus much, at least, is perfectly plain, that precisely the same arguments which, in the Kantian system, prove our idea of God to be illusive, prove likewise our ideas of the external world, and of our own personal selves, to be illusive. We look abroad, for instance, on the visible world, far into the depths of boundless space, and there we see, as we suppose, a vast multiplicity of worlds and systems; or we go back in thought far into the recesses of geological time, where we conjure up eras in the world's existence when all things were different from what they are now; and so we construct in our imagination the idea of material nature as a vast and magnificent whole—a whole existing in, and filling an immeasurable expanse both in space and in time. But, according to Kant, *the whole of this is an illusion*. It is, in fact, only the perversion of a very simple and useful *à priori* idea, which exists as the second in the human reason. For just as we have an idea of 'All possible predicates,' which we pervert into the illusive imagination of a Being who is Infinite, Absolute, and First Cause, so there is in the reason an idea of the 'totality of the conditions or causes, which are necessary to the existence of every conditioned or finite thing,' which we pervert into the wholly illusive imagination of a world existing in, and filling space and time. The idea of the totality of conditions, like the idea of all possible predicates, Kant holds, was given us only for cognitive purposes. It was given, solely, as a rule for the understanding; enjoining upon the understanding never to rest satisfied with the conditions or causes it may know, but to seek out ever fresh conditions, and thereby connect its knowledges on to each other, so that they may form a symmetrical or reasoned whole. It is a total perversion, when this useful idea is converted into the idea of a real and substantial external world existing out of, and independent of, the human mind.

And so it is with the idea of our own personal existence. It, in like manner, is another similar perversion of a third *à priori* idea existing in the reason.

Clearly, therefore, according to the system of Kant, just as much of unknowableness attaches to our own personal exist-

ence, and to the external world, as does to God; and the idea or knowledge which we suppose we have of these is just as *illusivæ* as is our knowledge of God.

But it may be said,—Is this really Scepticism? Is it not rather the wholesome doctrine of the *limitation of human knowledge*?

Now, if it were so, that the effect of the Kantian philosophy were merely to teach the doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge; if its effect were just this—to teach that, situated as we are, we can know neither God, the world, nor the human soul, as they are in themselves, but must be contented with a secondary, relative, and imperfect knowledge of them: such a doctrine, so far from being scepticism, would be quite in harmony with genuine Christian doctrine. For, after all, we cannot know God, material things, or even our own souls, perfectly. We only know God in so far as He has revealed Himself to us in the pages of nature and revelation; we only know the world in so far as it exists in space and time, and affects our organism; we only know ourselves in so far as we are conscious of our actions in the successive circumstances in which we are placed.

But a little consideration will show, that the effect of the Kantian philosophy is not simply to teach such a wholesome doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge; it goes a great deal further, and is, in fact, nothing else but a system of absolute Scepticism.

For what do we mean by Scepticism? We mean by Scepticism the falsification of human knowledge, of such knowledge as we actually do possess. We have said that we cannot know things as they are in themselves; that all that we can know, is only certain secondary, relative and imperfect manifestations of things. Now, the position of Scepticism is this. Whereas, the doctrine of the limitation of human knowledge holds these manifestations to be true and real, and to give us a knowledge of the things of which they are the manifestations, which, though not complete, is true and real as far as it goes, Scepticism maintains that these manifestations give us no knowledge of things at all, but, on the contrary, are wholly factitious, false, and fallacious.

As this is a point of great importance in reference to the doctrine of the knowableness or unknowableness of God, we may be permitted to explain it a little further.

It is to be observed, that all that is needed to establish the doctrine of the knowableness of God, as opposed to the doctrine of his unknowableness, is simply, that it be con-

ceded, that the indications we have of God's existence, whether in nature or revelation, are not false and fallacious. If it is granted, for instance, that the intelligence and the benevolence which we see in the order of nature are the intelligence and benevolence of God, then is God to that extent knowable; for we actually stand face to face with Him in two of His attributes. The doctrine of the knowableness of God does not require more than this. It does not pretend that we can know God as He is in Himself, which it were simple blasphemy to assert. Just in the same way, all that the chemist requires to establish the knowableness of natural substances is, that it be granted him that the phenomena which any particular substance manifests express to that extent its inner nature and character. It is not necessary that he should be supposed to know the substance as it is in itself; for confessedly this is a kind of knowledge which is beyond the powers of man in his present state.

Now, it is just these indications, viewed as expressive of the inner nature of things, and as thereby constituting a real knowledge of the things, that the Kantian philosophy completely falsifies. It teaches that both the theologian and the chemist are the victims of a delusion, in imagining that the indications which they severally so laboriously study give any real knowledge of the objects of which they are the indications.

Clearly this is involved in the very idea of the Kantian philosophy as an *à priori* philosophy. It is involved in every *à priori* philosophy; and if other *à priori* philosophies have not taught it in the same decided way as the Kantian, it is just because, unlike the Kantian, they have never been pushed to their logical consequences. For what is the import of *à priori* principles or laws of knowledge, whether those principles be conceived as 'innate ideas' or as 'principles of common sense,' or with Kant as *à priori* forms, categories and ideas? Is not the plain meaning this: that in supposing such principles we *place a limit upon human intelligence*? But having once done this, a system of the most thoroughgoing scepticism, such as we have in the Kantian philosophy, is the inevitable result.

For, plainly, in thus placing a limit upon human intelligence we for ever debar it from knowing *what is to be known*. For with such a limit, it is evident, we can only know under this condition, that the things to be known be in conformity with our intelligence. If they should happen to be out of conformity, either they must remain utterly unknown, or else they must be twisted into conformity. And this is precisely

the doctrine of Kant. His fundamental position is that things as they are in themselves—God, the world, and the human soul—are out of conformity with our intelligence; consequently they are wholly unknown and unknowable. Before they can at all affect our faculties of knowledge they must be made to conform, *i.e.* must be converted into phenomena. In other words, what we know is, according to Kant, not the things themselves, not even any genuine, though secondary, indications of them; it is a twisted, distorted, and wholly fallacious image.

Obviously, the inevitable consequence of this is the entire falsification of human knowledge. For, clearly, under this principle, it is not merely the particulars, which theologians have collected regarding God, which are proved to be fallacious when viewed as indications or knowledges of what God really is. It is all human knowledge whatsoever; even the magnificent fabric of natural science, of which we are so justly proud. For, according to Kant, the phenomena which natural objects manifest, and which men of science so laboriously study and collect, under the impression that they afford a real knowledge of natural things, do not really give such knowledge; they are mere distorted representations, *not even coming from the objects*, but produced solely by the *à priori* forms of our cognitive faculties.

The common opinion is, that Hume alone held the human faculties to be faculties of deception, and that Kant rescued the mind from this reproach. There could be no greater misconception. The few instances of mental delusion, which Hume delighted to expose, are as nothing compared with that thoroughgoing system of cognitive falsehood which Kant inaugurated. In the Kantian philosophy every faculty of human knowledge is a liar. The senses lie, when they place their objects in space and time; the understanding lies, when it judges things to have quantity and quality, and to be substances and causes; the reason lies, when it attributes a real or noumenal existence to God, the world, and the human soul. In a word, a more thoroughgoing or complete system of scepticism than the Kantian philosophy it is impossible to imagine.

From this we see the utter shallowness of those who quote against the Christian theologian the Kantian doctrine of the unknowableness of God. *They* would have him believe that Kant taught that everything else is knowable, and God alone is unknowable. Look abroad, they say, upon this material world and its laws, here is something which you *may* know;

as for God, about whom your theology busies itself, has not Kant taught you that He is wholly unknowable, and that everything which you tell us of Him is wholly fallacious? How little they have penetrated the real drift and meaning of Kant is perfectly clear. So far from teaching that everything else is knowable, and God alone is unknowable, Kant taught that God is knowable or unknowable in exactly the same sense as everything else is knowable or unknowable. God is knowable neither more nor less than the sun, with his attendant planets, is knowable. Or, to speak quite accurately, according to Kant, both are wholly unknowable, because every indication which seems to come from them, and to promise us a knowledge of them, is wholly false and fallacious.

The result, therefore, of our examination of the Kantian doctrine of the unknowableness of God is this—that, if Theology is to fall before that doctrine, and to be henceforth regarded as a science of illusion, the whole fabric of physical science must also fall at the same time. Indeed the most valuable lesson that we learn from the Kantian criticism is, that our knowledges of God, of the external world, and of our own selves, are inseparably connected, and must stand or fall together. If, for instance, we are convinced of the real existence and knowableness of an external world—in other words, if we take our stand on the fundamental postulate of physical science—the inference from this to the real existence and knowableness of a Personal God is inevitable. It was, in fact, from this premiss that Locke was reasoning, when he pronounced the existence of God to be more certain than anything which our senses have not revealed to us; and the whole Kantian philosophy contains an implicit confession to the same effect. It was, in truth, just because Kant did not recognize the premiss of Locke; it was just because he believed the solar system of physical science to be as purely factitious and unreal,—as purely a product of our subjective faculties as was the old Olympus of the Greeks, that he dissented from Locke's conclusion.

ART. IV.—THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

[It was considered desirable that something upon the position of the Irish Church should appear in the first number of the *Church Quarterly*, and application was made to me for the purpose. It appeared to me that I could scarcely comply with the request more satisfactorily than by offering for the Editor's acceptance the Charge delivered by me to the Clergy of the diocese of Derry and Raphoe in St. Columb's Cathedral a few weeks ago.—WILLIAM DERRY and RAPHOE.]

MY REV. BRETHREN, you will readily believe me when I assure you that, upon this occasion of our solemn gathering, it would have been a great relief to my feelings if I could honestly have been silent upon the subject of Revision. The General Synod of the Irish Church has for years past been somewhat too much of a Helkath-hazzurim, and too many voices have been crying, 'Let the young men arise, and play before us;' and too many combatants have 'caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword into his fellow's side.' It is scarcely possible for me to speak without awakening memories in our Israel of that 'very sore battle.' Yet, with the preservation of the Deposit of the Faith the Bishop is more closely connected than any other individual in his diocese. To cling to it personally, to preserve it for himself and his, is equally the duty of the Presbyter and of the Christian layman; to preserve it for the Church is the especial duty of the Bishop. It was to a Bishop that St. Paul wrote, 'Keep that which is committed to thy trust.' Of Revision generally I think it may be said, that the course of events more and more justifies those who resisted it from the outset. The remonstrances of such persons have, indeed, been likened to the garrulous wailings of a feeble and aged woman, who shrieks out that an operation must not be performed because it is dangerous, forgetting that there are things which it is dangerous to do, but far more dangerous to leave undone. But it requires little imagination to conceive that if the operation was to be performed by some amateur surgeon, under the contradictory directions given by a *plébiscite* of tumultuous students, the terror and the shrieks might not be wholly inexcusable. Revision, so far as it has

gone, harasses one class of members of our Church, not the least conspicuous for their devotion to her cause. No one can doubt this who is aware of the large number of protests which have been lodged with the Representative Body. It satisfies few, if any, of those whom it was designed to conciliate. It is received with an otiose and unenthusiastic assent by a considerable number of amiable persons who have argued themselves into accepting it in the hope that it will settle the question for our time.

BISHOP THIRLWALL ON REVISION.

The death of that eminent thinker, the late Bishop Thirlwall, reminds me to observe that, in his Charge of 1859, that great prelate, having the question of Revision fully before him, came to the conclusion that, however conducted, it could only end in a disastrous violation of the Prayer-Book, which itself contains the compact of centuries. I am not now in a position to quote any part of the Charge; but I shall read you a summary of it, which I have lately seen. 'In his remarks upon the "Revision of the Liturgy," at that time a popular cry, he deprecates any alteration of it in favour of a particular school, though he recommends some changes which have since been practically carried out in the new Lectionary. Of various occasional services and special forms he gave his opinion at the same time in a thoroughly conservative spirit. He defended the Burial Service on the highest of all grounds—namely, that if Church discipline were replaced upon a proper footing there would cease to be anything anomalous in it. He defended the Ordination Service, on the ground that the anxiety which the Church of England had always shown to prove her apostolical succession proved that she thought there *was* some mysterious efficacy in the laying on of hands. He defended the form of Absolution in the Visitation for the Sick, on the ground that it must be read by the light of the rest of the liturgy, from which it was abundantly plain what her doctrine was, and that such absolution, by being made dependent on the request of the sick person, was removed by an essential distinction from the Romish theory.'

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The proposed mode of dealing with the Athanasian Creed, which has, for the present, found a capricious and remorseful kind of favour with a majority of the Synod, deserves our special consideration in this place. In dealing with it, I can-

not affect to treat the subject with that free handling, which appears to afford peculiar satisfaction, from the curious incongruity between the position of the critic and the subject-matter criticized. 'Free inquiry is for free inquirers.' A Bishop can scarcely be *that* as regards a Creed of the Church. Let me observe, first—that while the fire of hostile criticism is, in this country, at present apparently centred upon one portion of the Athanasian Creed only, the whole intensity of the opposition to it really arises from certain general tendencies and pre-disposition of Christian thought. These may be summed up under four heads. The Athanasian Creed, it is said, is not subjective enough, or Scriptural enough, or simple enough, or modest enough.

1. *It is not Subjective Enough.*—There is an unquestionable tendency among ourselves, and indeed everywhere, to under-rate the positive and dogmatic element in religion. Yet surely the great Theological Systematist of the Middle Ages speaks the true language of Christian common sense when he says—'It is necessary for the perfection of the whole scheme of theology that we should treat of the Saviour, and of His benefits conferred upon the human race. Our first consideration, therefore, must be concerning the Person of the Saviour Himself.' No doubt in the recoil from barren scholastic dogmatism, the Protestant Reformers were at first tempted to go rather too far in the opposite direction. Dogmatic theology dissolved into the science of pious emotions or frames of mind. But, before long, the distinction was clearly shown between *fides quæ creditur* and *fides quâ creditur*. The first without the second was seen to be a religion of formalism; the second without the first a religion of sentiment. There is something very significant and instructive in comparing the first with the latter editions of that noble book, the *Loci Theologici* of Melancthon. In the first edition Melancthon wrote—'There is no reason for expending much labour upon those transcendent topics—of God, of the Unity, of the Trinity, of the Mystery of Creation, of the mode of the Incarnation. I ask you, what have the scholastic theologians gained by dwelling exclusively upon these topics for so many centuries? To know Christ is to know His benefits.' But, in subsequent editions, Melancthon, the wisest and most temperate of the Continental Reformers, perceived that the balance of doctrine needed to be shifted, and, therefore, omitted the sentences which I have just translated. But the point of view, from which those sentences were written, is exactly that of many of

ourselves, and so long as it prevails the Athanasian Creed must be unpopular.

2. *It is not Scriptural Enough.*—The Creed is depreciated from a notion that much of the terminology is extra-scriptural. Bishop Butler, in showing how much preconceived expectations would lead us into exceptions against information afforded in the ordinary course of nature, refers to the ‘innumerable imperfections attending the only method by which nature enables us to communicate our thoughts to each other; language is, in its very nature, inadequate, and liable to abuse from negligence or design.’ In the same strain of thought it might be considered desirable to have a heavenly vocabulary placed at our disposal for the adequate expression of heavenly mysteries, adapted to the wants of successive generations. But we have not such a language, and must do as well as we can without it, using the best substitute which we can find.

3. *It is not Simple Enough.*—By those who attach weight to this objection, the Athanasian Creed is cashiered in favour of the Nicene, and the Nicene in favour of the Apostles’, from a desire for that which is simple and intelligible. As to the superseding of the latter Creeds by the Apostles’ Creed, it labours under the suspicious recommendation of Lindsay, Belsham, and the frigid Socinians of the last century. Let me cite the weighty words of the Lutheran Bishop Martensen, whose work on Christian Dogmatics I venture to recommend to your diligent study:—‘The Apostles’ Creed is not only, historically considered, a post-apostolic production; its whole inner form and contents are such as to prove its insufficiency to serve as the highest *critical* standard in the Church. Every word of it would be unintelligible, if we had not a richer source to which we could resort for an explanation. Though it is a symbol used at baptism, yet it gives us not the slightest information concerning the sacramental significance of baptism. It gives us quite as little light respecting the Lord’s Supper. The same is true of the important doctrine of justification by faith, a doctrine whose fundamental importance, doubtless, few among us will have the courage to question. Even the doctrine of the person of Christ is so indefinitely stated that both Arians and Socinians have been able to adopt the Creed; and the latter have always appealed to the harmony of their belief with the Apostles’ Creed in order to prove themselves to be good Christians. If it is answered that those who bring heresies into the Creed misinterpret it, and disregard the consequences which necessarily flow from the Creed, we assent to

this fully. Only we must then express our surprise at the way in which the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are often depreciated by those, who affirm that the Apostles' Creed alone has the right to determine what Christianity is. For, if this Creed cannot be understood except as inferences are deduced from it, it would seem to be far safer to adopt that development of it which is presented by the œcumenical councils of the Church in those later symbols—in which, through the aid of the Holy Scriptures, the great and comprehensive truths implied in the earlier symbol are drawn out—than to fancy that we may be indifferent to the later Creeds as being only a work of Biblical scholars; and yet that any person whatever may himself deduce the necessary inferences from the Apostles' Creed, and that too, perhaps, without consulting the Scriptures at all. To leap over the intervening symbols in this way, and go back immediately to the Apostles' Creed, is to imitate the course of the Socinians. But whether it is done from the standpoint of infidelity or of faith, it will always be an unhistorical procedure.' So far Bishop Martensen. And if it be said that the early ages did very well with their shorter Creed, the answer is that they did *not*. Witness the history of the Arian heresy.

4. *It is not Modest Enough.*—To assert that the Athanasian Creed attempts to define the undefinable is to mistake its very essence. These various clauses are not 'pressed on the recalcitrant intellect' as adequate philosophical and theological expressions of truth. They are protests against definite degradations and caricatures of the great Christian conceptions of the Trinity and the Incarnation. This point is of importance. One in high place, upon a great public occasion, inveighed against clauses eight to eighteen of the Symbol as 'mere rhetorical amplification,' which every one might extend *ad infinitum*; as objectless phrases intended to swell the *quantum* of mystery to be believed. But a consideration of the facts of the case shows how little there is in all this. The Arians and Macedonians said that the Father (or the Father and Son) was alone Uncreated, alone Illimitable, alone God, alone Lord. The Creed in just so many counter propositions asserts the equality of the Son and Holy Ghost. On the other attributes there is no counter statement.

THE DAMNATORY CLAUSES.

I am persuaded that if these prejudices against the Creed in general were not largely entertained, the objectors would

not have fixed so fiercely upon the damnatory clauses. To such clauses appended to the substance of the Christian faith in the Trinity and Incarnation many serious men would not dissent. But damnatory clauses appended to that 'faith drawn out into minute and scholastically expressed particularities' they utterly abhor. [It is hard to see why this class of objectors should not be contented with an explanatory rubric.] Yet many of these clauses, which are 'minute' in bulk and 'scholastically expressed' in sound, contain the very substance of the Christian faith. 'Not confounding the Person' may sound scholastic; but it states and condemns the heresy of Sabellius, who taught that all the attributes predicated of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were to be ascribed to One Person, acting under merely different denominations. If this be so, it might be shown that by a logical consequence there is no Mediator, no Sacrifice, no Atonement in the Christian sense of the word. Again, the Symbol says, 'Not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God.' 'Minute and scholastical,' cries a modern objector. Yet these few words contain the great difference between all heathen systems of Incarnation—between the Buddhist Incarnation, for instance, and the Christian. The heathen idea of Incarnation is man made God; the Christian, God made man. Does it not seem illusory to admit the legitimacy of damnatory clauses applied to the substance of the Christian faith and Incarnation, and to deny their legitimacy as applied to minute and scholastically-expressed particularities unless some test is laid down by which we may settle which are minute, and whether they can be properly expressed otherwise than in a scholastic mould?

The General Synod and the Creed.—As to the special form which our Revision has assumed, it is thus stated (I think somewhat understated) by a very able defender:—'Now, the plan which we propose to follow is this—to leave the *Quicumque Vult* in its integrity where it stands at present, open and accessible to all members of the Church, but without any directions for its Liturgical use in that form; but, instead of it, as a substitute for the Apostles' Creed, to order an extract from it, containing the whole doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, to be used at morning prayer on certain festivals.' The whole of the treatment of the document rests upon the theory of 'separable clauses,' represented by the metaphor of 'Creed and setting.' That considerable names, such as Waterland, can be quoted, I do not deny, though Waterland expressly says:—'The best way of all is to let it

stand as before'—Waterland iii. 256. But if the clauses are ideally separable they are practically inseparable. Those who make the attempt are inexorably shut up between two insuperable difficulties. They must either wound the primary instincts of devout Christians by omitting the declaration of the necessity of belief in the Incarnation, or insert it against every principle of logical coherence.

Is it a Mutilation of the Creed?—Some able and thoughtful men are rather indignant at the term *mutilation* being applied to this process. 'To mutilate,' they say, "is to deprive of an essential part." Have we deprived it of an essential part of its substance or of its beauty? In either case we are not guilty—not of mutilating its substance, for the damnatory clauses are separable—not of mutilating its beauty, for it has none to mutilate.' Now, it is not disrespectful to say that a man may be possessed of eminent acquirements, and yet not be a great dogmatic theologian. To him a Creed may appear a splitting of hairs, because not having very heartily embraced and accepted it, it presents no real difficulty to him. There are minds which are acute, and minds which are profound. The profoundest minds of Christendom have received the Creeds; the acutest have criticized them.

Want of Perception of its Beauty.—The beauty of a Creed is visible only to those who lovingly receive its ideas. One who does not so receive it naturally says that he sees little or no beauty in it. Let me illustrate my meaning. There is a Christian idea of beauty in form, of which the highest type is Gothic architecture. But architects of the highest genius—nay, generations of accomplished men—may be totally blinded even to this glorious beauty. The great designer of St. Paul's—of that dome which would equal St. Peter's, if it could be seen under the cloudless sky of Rome, and not in the murky atmosphere of London—travelled through France for the very purpose of architectural study. For him, as for his age, 'Gothic architecture was dead!' Among all his notes he has no mention of the great cathedrals of France. Amiens lifted its delicate beauty into the air; Notre Dame stood with all its grandeur by the Seine—but Amiens or Notre Dame might as well have been buried in lava, or rolled over by the river. Such was Sir Christopher Wren's 'coarseness of perception,' if we please to use so invidious a term of a genius so consummate, that he saw 'very little beauty' in Gothic architecture. And those, for whom the Athanasian Creed has a severe and stately beauty of its own—though that beauty be concealed by prejudice from eyes

otherwise more gifted than their own—will do their best to preserve it for other generations unmutilated! They will console themselves, amidst much vituperation of their motive, and many sneers upon their taste and judgment, by the solemn words of Richard Baxter, who has been eloquently praised within the last few days, as the best representative of undogmatic religion—‘I unfeignedly account the doctrine of the Trinity the germ and kernel of the Christian religion, as expressed in our own Baptism and Athanasian Creed, the best explanation of it I ever read.’ But, granting that the Athanasian Creed must necessarily be dealt with, is the proposed mode the best and most judicious? I shall read, as an answer to this question, a paragraph from an appendix to a sermon by the present Bishop of Salisbury. That Prelate has stated the real difficulty in the way of receiving the Athanasian Creed with unrivalled clearness and power. But it will be perceived that he would disapprove such precipitate action as is proposed among ourselves. He says—‘It only remains now to draw these remarks to a conclusion by saying what practical course I should myself recommend in regard to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. I need not say that in my judgment they ought to be removed, on the grounds which I have stated in this appendix. But it is a very grave and serious matter to alter a document of so great antiquity, and such widely-extended use in the Church of God—a matter so grave and serious that it ought not to be attempted without the fullest consideration, the most acknowledged need, and the highest authority. Nothing could be more injurious than to tamper hastily, and without such safeguards, with a form (call it creed or hymn) so venerable and so endeared to the pious affection of many of the holiest Christian people. The mere attempt to do so would not unnaturally seem to many to be a rooting up of foundations, that ought to be sacred and irremovable, and to portend nothing less than the ruin of the divinely-built edifice which has stood upon those foundations for so many centuries. It seems to me that the Provincial Convocation of Canterbury has no sufficient authority to deal with such a case in the way required, nor the united voice of the two English provinces by themselves. But in the example of the Pan-Anglican Synod, held under Archbishop Longley, I seem to see the method whereby this difficulty may be surmounted; and if, in the providence of God, it should happen that that example should be followed on another occasion, and the Pan-Anglican Synod be once more assembled, there would be an authority

—not, indeed, so complete as we fain would have it, but not inadequate to warrant such a change. But if this be the first opportunity (and this obviously a very uncertain one) of making the change which ultimately I regard as necessary, what is to be done in the meantime? I own that I can offer nothing better than that sort of note, or synodical declaration, which in this appendix I have spoken of as the third suggestion upon the subject—I mean, some such note as should declare that “these clauses are no otherwise to be understood than as the general sentences of the necessity of belief and the dangers of unbelief are set forth to us in Holy Scripture.” As a *remedy* for the difficulty before us, such a note is, in my judgment, valueless; but as a temporary expedient, and as preparing the way for the only real remedy which I believe the case to admit, it would be useful.’

ADVICE TO THOSE WHO AGREE WITH ME.

To those who agree with me I would say, be true and loyal. I cannot indeed accept the well-meaning apologies of those, who would represent the changes already carried as at the worst mere trifling eccentricities. Such are not to be measured by their material bulk, but by the motives from which they spring, and the tendencies which they exhibit and emphasize.

THE AMERICAN PRAYER-BOOK.

The American Prayer-Book, with its apparently larger deviations from the Anglican type, is not a fair parallel. It differs from ours in three important particulars. First—A new Prayer-Book was, even materially speaking, a necessity for the American Church at the time when the carriage of books was so expensive and precarious, and when the very appearance of an English Monarch's name on the page might have aroused the most violent passions. Secondly—The Revision was carried out at the darkest time, ecclesiastically speaking, in the history of our Church—at a period when comparatively little was known of the structure and principle of the services. It was not a sin against light. Thirdly—The Revision in its result was not altogether one-sided. Something—indeed, not a little—was done, especially through Bishop Seabury's influence upon the Communion office, to redress the balance of doctrine. On the other hand, putting things at the worst, nothing has yet been finally and irrevocably settled among ourselves which would warrant

withdrawal or schism. It does not become a loyal subject to lay down a hard and fast line at which rebellion becomes lawful. It does not become a loyal Churchman to state by anticipation the point at which he will break with his Church. Let us be 'watchful, and strengthen the things which remain and are ready to die.' The days will come, sooner or later, when our brethren will see why we have resisted a popular cry. On the spot where one generation executes a criminal, the next very often rears a column to a martyr.

On the whole, my counsel is to oppose the proposed changes in the Athanasian Creed by all lawful and Christian means. Those who think with us are many. The ink with which the removal of Clause twenty-nine was ordered was not dry before a cry of remonstrance went up from one end of Ireland to the other. Restitution was proposed to be made in the Preface for that which had been detached from the Creed. The feeling in favour of an unmutated Athanasian Creed is not confined to one party in the Church. Among all the shrieks and misrepresentations of the defenders of the Creed, I have heard none so wild or passionate, none so 'hysterical,' as that which couples together the Athanasian Creed and the Eucharistic Adoration. If we strive lawfully and with Christian weapons we shall not, please God, strive in vain.

To these already too prolonged arguments I must add two observations—(1.) Those who think with me would look with much more favour upon the proposed mode of dealing with the *Quicumque Vult*, if we could rationally suppose that it would really satisfy the conscientious scruples of excellent persons who find a difficulty in receiving it—I say rationally. There is, of course, a blind hysterical hatred of the Creed which may be gratified by change. But it is difficult to conceive that *any* man of candid mind should be permanently satisfied by ceasing to repeat publicly certain statements in a Creed, of which he is still obliged to declare at the most solemn moments of his life that it is 'thoroughly (*omnino*) to be received and believed.' That statement is either true or false. If it is false, away with the assent: if it is true, repeat it to the people. I object to the doctrine of reserve. (2.) We are frequently told that the recital of the Creed is an Anglican peculiarity, and that in the Church of Rome, though received as dogmatically authoritative, it is not publicly read. There can be no stronger argument for its use. Right views of the Incarnation become like instincts when the symbol is continually read by the clergy in the ears of the people. The devotion of the Sacred Heart, for instance, can

scarcely be naturalized in an Athanasian medium. It would be felt instinctively by clergy and people, that such materialistic worship rends and divides the totality of the Person of the God-Man, and arbitrarily treats a physical portion as if it were the Divine whole. And again to grasp the Incarnation in all its majestic fulness is the best safeguard against Mariolatry. On the whole it is most unjust to be complaining loudly and bitterly, as if our subscription were more burdensome than that of most Protestant communities. The Westminster Confession is contained in thirty-three articles, and covers one hundred and eight pages. The Baptist Confession of Faith occupies thirty-five pages. The Wesleyan Standard Doctrines imposed on every minister are contained in Mr. Wesley's voluminous Sermons.

DIOCESAN AFFAIRS.

I now turn to matters more directly connected with the condition of the diocese, and the working of the Church generally.

1. *Confirmation*.—I have, as you are aware, from time to time, without any long intermission, been holding Confirmations for separate parishes. Two disadvantages, however, attend this plan. A certain irregularity is apt to supervene, and the parishes which are slothfully administered miss the stimulus which is supplied by the local movement in the surrounding parishes. Under this conviction, I held a general confirmation at eighteen different centres in the diocese of Derry early in the spring. The number of those confirmed was about 1,250, making, with the addition of the previous confirmation, 3,000 in three years. I have every reason for believing that the preparation was careful. At the same time, I think it right to say that one of the oldest and most laborious clergymen in the diocese, whose position brings him into contact with young persons from many rural parishes, is distinctly of opinion that they are less acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion—more ignorant both of the Bible and the formularies of the Church—than the children of the last generation. I wish you, my brethren, to consider this matter carefully. The confirmation class should not be allowed to melt away after the confirmation day. The communion class may gather again many of its most hopeful members—and the communion class may furnish you with sound and useful teachers.

2. In *Church building* this diocese holds an honourable

place. Since my appointment as Bishop, towards the close of 1867, I have consecrated or re-opened eleven churches, either completely new or thoroughly restored and renovated. I may specify, since we last met, a neat and commodious church at Dunfanaghy, and one opened for Divine service last week at Killowen, for which praise is due to the indefatigable efforts of the rector and people. It is also hoped that, in the course of next year, the Church in this diocese may see the completion of a beautiful Memorial Church at Strabane, associated with the memory of the late eloquent and beloved James Smith. With this improvement in the fabric of our churches may be gratefully mentioned an improvement in singing and other accessories of Divine service. Our Church festivals have done good by rendering the old notion of a duet service with solo singing quite impossible for the next generation.

3. In reference to *Ordinations* I must candidly say that my mind is not altogether satisfied. Much of our old system, contemptuously classed as Red Tape, was but the judicious caution engendered by traditional experience. I mean to cast no reflection upon gentlemen who, from no fault of their own, have not had the advantage of university education, some of whom are working with much zeal and acceptance. But I feel that the question of an educated ministry is becoming a very serious one indeed for our diocese. Large towns or dioceses which require a very small supply of clergymen may be able to procure fully educated men—we are not. I confess that I am one of those who deeply regret that the example of the English universities apparently cannot be followed among ourselves. At Oxford, at least after about a year and a half of the Classical and Mathematical course, a student, who so desires it, may devote himself to the studies of the School of Theology, and, upon condition of obtaining honours in that school, is entitled to a degree in arts. The gain to the Church from this concession is obvious and undeniable. I cherish the hope that a united course of action may be agreed upon by our Episcopate, and that it may be definitely laid down under what circumstance a bishop is entitled to dispense with the usual preliminaries. Some of us send a portion of our candidates for holy orders to English theological colleges. Is it possible or expedient to have one of our own?

4. *System of Patronage*.—And this naturally leads me to speak of two circumstances which materially affect the supply of our clergy, and the character of that supply—the abun-

dance and the excellence of the material. (1.) The Church at large should be carefully noting how our present system, tentative and experimental as it is, is working. It is curious to see how lines of action sternly reprehended under the old system of Episcopal Patronage, are pursued now, with some degree of popular applause; for instance, rapid changes from benefice to benefice, the result of a kind of spiritual selfishness which transplants promising clergymen, after very short service. Certainly, a Bishop at present can hardly consider himself responsible for the way in which a parish is filled. Is rigid and inflexible uniformity in the system of patronage a thing which encourages promising young men, and secures their confidence? I leave the question to be answered by others. (2.) I know how easy it is to sneer bitterly at what is called the degrading idea of professional prizes. It is very easy for the superfine spirituality, which is in opulent circumstances, and surveys ministerial life from a distance. It is very easy for the parent who never dreams of devoting a hopeful child to the ministry. But experience shows that the Church is not a diaphanous creature. Perhaps a clergyman ought to be a saint, with his spirit in the golden streets. What if our hardness, the cold selfish cruelty that 'muzzles the ox treading out 'the corn,' makes him a needy and shifty man, half distracted at being unable to educate his children and pay his weekly bills! Throw your eye down the long list of our parishes under the Scheme. Think of the heightened expense of meat and clothing, and the ever-increasing luxury and extravagance of our social habits. As I look down that list, my spirit often sinks within me. I see many a strong man's heart broken by the worst of all penury—penury without hope. Will not our laity one day do something to reward the labours and comfort the declining years of veterans in the army of the Church?

Personal.—You will allow me, my reverend brethren, to speak some more personal words before we part. For the undeserved affection and respect which I receive from most, from nearly all of you, I cannot be too grateful. I am, indeed, not without fears that the tendency of our present system is to cut the thread which links the bishop to his clergy. But on such an occasion as this, at all events, I suppose that there is not one of you who does not believe, in his heart of hearts, that a Bishop's voice, however weak, comes to him with a solemnity which no other possesses. (1.) I exhort every one of you to a daily and careful study of the Bible, the New Testament at least, in the original language.

As for the Old Testament, it is sad to think how many of us never grasp the real meaning of the Psalms which we repeat, and the chapters which we read so often. I wish it were possible to place the Bishop of Lincoln's commentary, or part of it, in the hand of every young clergyman. (2.) We hear many discussions upon absolution, many upon revival. One form of absolution I advise you to dispense. 'The greatest authority upon "the English ministry" reckons absolution by preaching among the absolutions belonging to the priesthood, and involved in its great commission. Is it not well, then, for us all to practise it in that form in which it is possible? That is, to declare very plainly the terms of pardon under the covenant of Grace. There are full surely in our congregations souls, which know awful temptations, startling falls. Between them and us there hangs a veil undrawn. There are those, who understand the lowest depth of wailing in the penitential Psalms, upon whom 'God's hand is heavy day and night, and their moisture like the drought in summer.' A holy law broken, a life marred, a darkness that can be felt gathering round them—what shall they do? Better far than prying into the minutest fibre of the motives; better far than anatomizing and weighing every scruple of the sin, and calling upon a man 'without omniscience to act the part of the Omniscient;' better far than producing for another human eye an exact and complete photograph of the soul (though that, like a photograph of form and face, is often an humbling sight); better far than this, a large-hearted trust in an unbounded and Divine love. Salvation does not come from completeness of self-analysis; its conditions are conscience feeling a burden, and faith laying it upon a Saviour. I implore of you to preach pardon through Christ. (3.) I exhort you to follow the Prayer-Book in your teachings. Let me here cite the words of one of the most awakening preachers of our day:—'The system of the Church,' says Mr. Maclagan, 'is eminently practical. Its course of instruction, when rightly understood, is one of our best helps in living for God. The more we can bring our people to see this, and to avail themselves of this means of grace, the more practical our teaching will be. If the Church's teaching of each week were carefully studied throughout the week, and the prayers continually offered, we should have secured a most important provision for developing and maintaining the spiritual life. This is especially true of the Church's holy seasons, her fasts and festivals. The attitude of expectancy which is taught us in Advent, the spirit of penitence which is

deepened by the Lenten season, the holy joy of Easter, the heavenward longings of Ascension, all crowned by the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit assured to us at Whitsuntide—if only these were grasped and studied, and made the subjects both of instruction and of prayer, as season after season came upon us, we should find them to have, far more than would be at first supposed, a practical power for drawing men to God, and helping them to find their rest in Him. The more our texts are chosen and our sermons framed on this plan, the more practical will our teaching be. But even here we must be careful to use this practical help in a practical way. Take, for instance, the season of Advent. We may explain with admirable clearness the connection of prophecy and event, with reference either to the first or second coming of the Lord. We may expatiate on the long-continued preparation by which God had been educating His people to receive the promised Saviour before the fulness of the time had come. Or, looking onward to the time when He shall come again in power and great glory, we may set before our people, with eloquence and power, the terrors of the day of wrath, the joys and glories of the coming kingdom. From sermons such as these they may go away convinced in their minds, or stirred in their feelings; satisfied as to the truth of God's word, or impressed with the powers of its imagery; but just as little ready as were the Jews to receive the Babe of Bethlehem as the Saviour of their own souls, or prepared in their own hearts to abide the day of His coming. By all means let us bring before them the truths, the hopes, and the fears of which I have spoken; but do not let us rest there. Let us press home upon them the necessity for a personal relation to the Incarnate God, a practical preparation for the coming kingdom; urge them to inquire, one by one, how it is with themselves, to make it the subject of their thoughts and prayers throughout the coming week; let us endeavour to awaken not only their interest, but their concern, to make them feel that there is something to be done in the matter, and to be done at once. Let every sermon tend towards such conclusions as these. The more they are conceived in this spirit, and preached with this end, the more they will be the echo of the words of our Lord Himself—"I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." "Be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." And as I exhort you to follow the order of the Church's year, so I urge you to be filled with her spirit. I really need not

warn you against ceremonial extravagance ; the thing is non-existent here.

Conclusion.—My beloved brethren, while we thus dwell upon the questions of the present, it is impossible to avoid looking forward to the course which lies before us. There are many good men, who take a glowing view of the immediate future of the Irish Church. I do not stand here to say that which is popular, but that which, in the sight of God, I believe to be true ; and I honestly confess to you that I do not. It would, indeed, be guilt and cowardice in any man, most of all in a Bishop, to despair. But it is well for us to face the truth. The Church of Christ, as a whole, is indefectible ; I know no promise of indefectibility to national branches of that Church. Where are the Churches of Asia Minor ? What has become of the Church of Africa, which numbered Cyprian among its martyrs, and Augustine among its teachers ? The subtle fibres and underworking currents of the present are, indeed, almost as completely hidden from us as the dark regions of the future. It was no less a Revelation of the Son of Man, when He said to the seer, 'Write the things which are,' than when he added, 'and the things which shall be hereafter.' Yet, so far as we can see of present principles of action, and their probable results, how do matters stand ? Do they justify us in entering upon the campaign with a light heart ? Our difficulties are not merely pecuniary. Commutation and Composition have answered well enough to let loose upon us malevolent tongues and pens. Our finance has been ably administered. What thanks in this diocese can ever sufficiently acknowledge the labours of some of our clergy and laity ? The contributions of our gentry and people, if not heroic, are considerable. The legitimate expectations of ultimate provision for our clergy are, as I have previously indicated, painfully circumscribed. But the position of a young man in the earlier years of his ministerial life is materially improved, and is decidedly better than that of an average curate in the Established Church of England. Yet with this advantage, with the inducement which to the young and ardent is possessed by a Church, which is starting upon a new career, with the prestige at once of ancient glories and recent misfortunes, certain facts admit of but one construction,—Are our upper or middle orders devoting their children, as of old, to the work of the ministry in Ireland ? Are promising young men of the class, who would succeed in the Civil Service competition, offering themselves ? It was the glorious tradition of our universities that 'true reli-

gion and useful learning' should intertwine their kindred roots; that successive generations of highly-educated men should present their choicest specimens to the altar. Since the Disestablishment took effect, how many Fellows of our ancient University have received orders in the Church of Ireland? I fear that, unless there be a change in the tone of public feeling, and in the contexture of circumstances, we may find ourselves, in a few years, with a ministry neither learned nor earnest, content to register the popular opinions of the day, and swim with the local current; of nondescript views—Evangelical, moderate High Church, Broad Church—but Evangelical without the uplifted cross, and High Church without the supernatural sacramental life, and Broad Church without the saving salt of criticism and thought. These are weighty words of the historian of the American Church—'In America all things tend to make the clergy keenly feel their want of independence. So far does this extend that it can hardly fail to act unfavourably upon their own estimate of their spiritual position. It is hardly to be expected that men, who are thus taught from the first to view themselves merely as the selected and paid agents of a Lay Board, can, as a body, fully realize their high character as the fearless witnesses for Christ's truth. Noble exceptions, indeed, there have been; but of that system the tendency is no less certain. It is to make the pastor wholly dependent upon those to whom he ministers.' A Church may find her most glorious sons in a clergy plunged in the deepest poverty. It has been so in all communions—reformed and unreformed. The superstitions of Rome were penetrated with a ray of light from the presence of Christ in our own day by a *curé* of Ars, so poor that he walked in wooden shoes, and had not wherewithal to buy a new cassock. Oberlin won souls by hundreds to Christ, living in a wretched cottage among the wintry hills of Alsace. Walker, in the deepest lethargy of the English Church in the last century, was incumbent of a parish in a remote Cumberland dale, with an income of 40*l.* a year, where he seemed to spread the peace of God around his quiet path. Under persecution the Church has flourished. Yes! without establishment or endowment, without gold or favour, the Church can live and thrive. She can breathe fresh purity in that serener air, and acquire a more elastic strength in the bracing chilliness of the mountains. But, without the sacred enthusiasm called faith, a disestablished and disendowed Church cannot live. Why, indeed, should such a Church con-

tinue to exist, without an intense conviction on the part of her adherents that she has a special message to deliver—that she is a peculiar depositary of truth, for the salvation and building up of precious souls—that she has upon her pinnacles the unfaded light of Pentecost, and within her walls the unfailing presence of Jesus? And this is why I fear as well as hope; why, for the present, my fears are in advance of my hopes. I doubt not, blessed be God, that much quiet good is going on—that some parishes are beginning to feel the value of privileges which they cannot retain without an effort—that we have hundreds of faithful clergy, and thousands of pious laity—but who can fail to see and hear much else? The sceptical and critical spirit that can see much questionable matter in the Creeds, which are the expression of the Church's intellect as she broods over the mystery of the Incarnation, and much defilement in the services, which are the expression of the Church's heart; the prospect of a Prayer-Book altered just enough to freeze and kill any exuberant zeal for it, disliked by these because it is altered, by those because it is not altered more; the *theologia inregeneratorum*, with its shallow plausibilities systematically diffused among our people; the suspicion injected into every pore of our Church life; the years that might have been spent in the pleasantness of fraternal working bitterly wasted in profitless strife—these things must bear their proper fruit. No doubt, by God's grace, a better day may come; but when its dawn is on the horizon of time, we whose hair is hoary may probably not be here to see it. Year after year the call comes to some of us. When the children of the Irish Church shall come to the Church's services and Creeds, not to teach, but to be taught—when they shall own the spell of an almost divine beauty in those marvellous words; when the whole system of their Church shall be to them like a translucent pane in an old Cathedral, of which the material and design are of ancient years, while the glow, the colouring, the sunlight are of the living present—in short, when we believe in our Church—in that day 'our mouth shall be filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing, and they shall say among the heathen, "The Lord hath done great things for them."' I do not mention these things bitterly, or complainingly, but for a most practical reason. Each one of us may do his part towards hastening on that day by preaching for Christ, living for Christ, working for Christ in his own parish; by bravely, and lovingly, and quietly, in word and deed, in discipline and doctrine, conforming to the teaching of our Reformed Church,

‘as it stands distinguished’—to use the words of a great Irish Primate—‘from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.’

ART. V.—THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA AND MODERN THOUGHT.

THE choice of Theodore of Mopsuestia as the subject of the following essay will require no justification in the eyes of students of theology. No reader of Dorner or Neander can be unaware of his paramount influence over the unorthodox thought of the first thirty years of the fifth century. But the man himself comes so little to the front in the history of his own time, that it may be well to explain, for the sake of the more general reader, what constitutes his claim upon our interest. The names of Nestorius and Pelagius are those under which the opinions of Theodore came before the notice of the world ; and for all the theological commotions associated with either of those names Theodore must be held primarily responsible. Nestorius was said to have stopped at Mopsuestia, as he went from his monastery at Antioch to take possession of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and there to have been imbued with heresy by the aged and then almost dying Theodore ; and this story, though doubtful in itself, embodied an unquestionable truth. It was the influence of Theodore's episcopate, extending over thirty-six years, during which he was a most popular preacher, which brought to a head those tendencies of Antiochene thought whose inevitable outcome was Nestorianism. And we have fragment upon fragment of his own writings, containing the principles, and even many of the technical phrases, of what was afterwards known as the Nestorian heresy. It is with justice, then, that he has been called ‘a Nestorian before Nestorius.’ And the proof that he was a Pelagian before Pelagius is not less clear. Rufinus the Syrian monk, who first led Pelagius into heresy, openly boasted himself the personal disciple of Theodore, and the diocese of Mopsuestia was treated by the leading

Pelagians as the natural head-quarters of their party. And besides this external evidence against Theodore we have a fragment of a large work of his against S. Augustine, in which he attacks S. Jerome with a vehemence equal to his own, for the doctrine of original sin which he had put forward, saying that it made men sinners by nature, not by their own moral actions. But the tact and facility of Theodore, to call it by no worse name, prevented his heterodox tendencies from getting him into trouble during his life. He was only once sufficiently indiscreet to make the blunt statement of Nestorius that Mary was not the God-bearer (*θεοτόκος*), and on that occasion he speedily retracted, though not before the people had begun to stone him in the church. And on one occasion, when his Pelagian tendencies were animadverted upon, he withdrew the writing which had given offence, and is even said to have burnt it. When a man clothes his unorthodox thoughts in abstract language, and is prepared at once to retract when he has been betrayed into more concrete expression of them, it is natural that his real influence should be felt chiefly at second-hand. Again, the deepest and most original thinkers are seldom effective exponents of their own profoundest thoughts, and the wordiness of Theodore's style made it impossible that he should popularize the thoughts, which the brilliant Nestorius could handle with such fascinating effect. It is no wonder then that the comparative obscurity of Theodore's personal career should be no gauge of the influence which he exercised on the theological thought of Christendom.

Our knowledge of the man himself is as fragmentary as the remains of his voluminous works which have alone come down to our own day. Of his life we know but two or three episodes, embalmed chiefly in some precious letters of S. Chrysostom. Of his Commentaries on the greater part of the Old Testament none has been preserved entire except those on the twelve Minor Prophets. The rest, like his great dogmatic works, exist only in scattered fragments, preserved by his theological opponents to witness against their author; and yet they were esteemed by friends and foes alike as the greatest exegetical works which the literalist school of Antioch had produced. Of Theodore as a commentator on Holy Scripture it is not proposed to treat here. His influence as a dogmatic teacher is a large enough subject for an article in a Review. The little that is known of him personally must first be presented to the reader. Then will follow an account of the extraordinary influence of his name in the fifth and sixth centuries as a war-cry in theological controversies. Then will

follow an attempt to estimate his real place in the history of Christian doctrine, the theological as distinguished from the merely polemical importance of his writings. And finally, the reader will be asked to consider if no light can be thrown on the present difficulties of the Church by the flame which Theodore kindled in the Church of the fifth century.

Theodore of Antioch, as he is commonly called when the works written before he was made Bishop are quoted, was the fellow-townsmen and, as nearly as possible, the contemporary of S. Chrysostom, being born at the above-mentioned town in or about the year 347. His parents were wealthy, but beyond this we know nothing of his family history. Another brother of the same family, Polychronius by name, was well known as a bishop and a commentator, and his work on the Book of Daniel is still extant.¹ We first hear of Theodore, when, at the age of about twenty, he was studying rhetoric with S. Chrysostom under the sophist Libanius. Very shortly after this Chrysostom retired from the world to lead a solitary life, and persuaded Theodore to follow his example. This early renunciation of the world was followed, not unnaturally, by a reaction so strong, that, quitting his solitary life, he determined to return into the world and marry. This episode in his career is what has secured to us one of the few glimpses of his personal character, which have penetrated the general obscurity which surrounds him. It called forth from Chrysostom one, if not two, letters of exquisite persuasiveness and grace. In the longer of the two works entitled 'To Theodore on his Fall,' the attractions of a woman named Hermione are spoken of as what had proved too much for the resolution of the person addressed. But this is the only touch of personal allusion in the work in question; and the whole composition differs so much in tone from the shorter letter which was undoubtedly written on this occasion, that it seems most probable that it was written to (or rather *for*, as it is more a treatise than a letter) some other Theodore, who had fallen into, and long continued in, some much graver fault. But in the other and shorter letter we have an exquisite picture of the character of Theodore, as well as of the affection of Chrysostom for his friend and fellow-student. In it he reminds Theodore of the fervour, with which he had cast aside all his worldly goods to devote himself entirely to God. 'Who was there,' he says, 'who did not see with admiration that rapid, sincere, and fervent conversion—how luxuriousness of

¹ 'Polychronii Episcopi Apamaensis in Daniele Commentarii:' contained in Mai's *Collectio Nova Veterum Scriptorum*.

diet was forgotten, and magnificence of dress despised—how all fastidiousness was trampled under foot, and all care for the wisdom which is from without was transferred to the oracles of God—how whole days were given to study, and whole nights to prayer?’ And again, on the speed with which the reaction had come, he says, ‘It was as you were but leaving the harbour, not as you were bringing home your vessel laden, that this dread pirate fell upon you.’ He deals with the various excuses which Theodore may possibly bring forward. In a touching passage, where the weakness of human nature is supposed to be pleaded in excuse, he says, ‘Will you say that you were not strong enough to bear the easy yoke, that you could not carry the light burden? Is it a weary and burdensome thing to rest from toil? For this it is to which Christ calls us when he says, “Come unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.”’ Further on he sets before him, but without mentioning any intended bride by name, that an earthly marriage, contracted by one who has devoted himself to God to live in the celibate state, ‘is not to be called marriage, but adultery, and so much more heinous than ordinary adultery as God is greater than man.’

In another place he urges on him the prayers and tears of numerous personal friends: ‘many you have, by the grace of God, who are grieving for you, and trembling for your soul.’ Then, after mentioning several by name, and saying that as each day comes round they cease not to mourn and pray—‘How monstrous were it then that others should not even now have despaired of your salvation, but pray continually that they may recover one who is a member of themselves, and that you yourself once fallen should have no desire to rise, but should lie prostrate, all but crying aloud to the enemy, Slay me, strike, spare not!’ One more extract from the conclusion of the letter may be given. The materials for a life of Theodore are scanty, and it is not amiss to see the strength of the affection which he could arouse in a man like S. Chrysostom. ‘I know,’ he says, ‘that I have exceeded the limits of a letter, but you must pardon me, for it is not of my own will that I have done so, but constrained by affection and grief; and, indeed, this was what forced me to write the letter, though many were for stopping me . . . but I would not listen to them, for there is hope, I said to myself, that my words may be of some avail. And if things should fall out as God forbid that they do, I shall be the gainer, at all events, by having been unable to impose silence on myself.’

The result of this eloquent pleading was that Theodore

remained constant to his vows, and we next hear of him as again studying with S. Chrysostom, but this time under Diodorus and Carterius, the two most celebrated teachers of Antioch in the divine life of contemplation. When Diodorus was made Bishop of Tarsus, Theodore followed him there, and after being ordained by him to the priesthood, remained in the diocese till the death of his master, to the reversion of whose See he is said to have aspired. However, it was not until 393 that his elevation to the Episcopate took place, and the See to which he was consecrated was that of Mopsuestia or Mapsista, the third town in what was known as the second Cilicia, under the metropolitanical See of Anazarba. To the period of his presbyterate belongs his great dogmatic work on (or, as old orthodox writers always call it, *against*) the Incarnation; for he says some years before his death that it had then been written more than thirty years. His whole life was one of ceaseless literary and theological activity—*prope infinita scripsit Theodorus*—his writings extended their range to an attack on the dualism of Zoroaster, and continued to be produced until near the end of his life, to which last period belongs his work against Apollinaris. He purged his own diocese of Arianism, and continued to enjoy the reputation of an orthodox theologian until he died in the communion of the Church in A.D. 429. Before finally dismissing the man and his living influence from these pages, it may be well to give the reader the last pleasing glimpse which the affectionate Chrysostom has secured us of the life of his early friend. In the year 404, when S. Chrysostom was for the second time in exile, he writes from Cucusus in the Desert to his friend Pænius at Constantinople, telling him that the faithful in Cilicia are not all of one mind, and begging him to give special care to the affairs of those parts, and to write, among others, to his (Pænius') cousin, the Lord Bishop Theodore, whom he styles his own master. Then in the same year we find him writing to Theodore himself, who, with the tact which must have been habitual to him, had managed to aid S. Chrysostom without offending the opposite party. S. Chrysostom writes to him that he would it were possible to come to him and enjoy in person his affection; but since this cannot be, he must discharge the same duty by letter. For 'if,' he says, 'I were carried to the ends of the earth, never could I forget your affection, genuine, warm, sincere, and guileless, both as it used to be from the very first, and as you have displayed it now. For it is no small consolation that I have received, even here, in the Desert as I am, at having

found treasure and wealth laid up in your heart,¹ the affection of your watchful and generous soul.'

This is the last that we hear of the great Theodore in the writings of his contemporaries and friends. With this last expression of the undying affection of his early friend and monitor, he passes for us out of the realm of living men with human sympathies and affections. From this time onward his name is associated only with metaphysical distinctions and fierce theological disputes. And the melancholy irony of fate, which thus reduces a man after his death to a mere stalking-horse for theological animosities, pursued Theodore even further than it has done other great men, whose names suggest little to the mind but the pungent scent of ancient bindings and the literary stillness of a library. In the sad days of the sixth century, when an Œcumenical Council was convoked to anathematize three theologians who had been more than a century in their graves—Theodore, Theodôret, and Ibas became known as the 'Three Articles.' Not even their names were retained to them in the current theological language of the day. To be on the side of the court was to anathematize; to be on the side of the Pope was to defend—the 'Three Articles.' But this is to anticipate. Theodore had been dead two years when the Council of Ephesus met, and it was not until after the condemnation of Nestorius that his name came prominently forward in connection with the Nestorian heresy. His 'Symbolum,' the same which raised such a storm of anathemas in the second Council of Constantinople, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus without any mention of the writer. As if it were the fate of Theodore, that no event in which he was concerned should fail of some great theological interest, in which the man himself should be lost sight of, it was in condemning his creed that the Council passed its celebrated decision that it should be unlawful to impose any creed different from that of Nicæa.

With the end of the Council of Ephesus and the exile of Nestorius, the name of Theodore began to come more before the world.

While the showy and popular Patriarch was preaching at Constantinople against the claims of the Mother of our Lord to the well-known title of Theotokos, people had no time to ask how far the real home of the heresy lay in a second-rate town in Cilicia. But when Nestorius had been condemned

¹ Or, as some read, 'laid up in Cilicia.'

and exiled, and the tyrannous orthodoxy of S. Cyril made conciliation doubly difficult, the less orthodox among the Orientals began to shelter themselves under the honoured name of the Bishop of Mopsuestia. His Commentaries were translated into Oriental languages, and sent to those Persian Churches where Nestorianism remains to this day in that melancholy isolation from Christendom, which has lately been appealing for our sympathy. Theodore had died in the communion of the Church, and under cover of his name Nestorianism was so widely taught, that Rabbulas, Bishop of Edessa, wrote to S. Cyril and others on the subject. We have in the records of the Fifth Council a letter from Cyril to the Emperor Theodosius, in which he complains that Nestorianism is being taught under Theodore's name, and begs that anathema may be pronounced against him. Again, in a letter to John of Antioch he says that Diodorus and Theodore 'went, as it were, full sail against the glory of Christ.' And in another letter to Bishop Acacius of Melitene, he shows how great was the influence of Theodore in the East. 'It would seem,' he says, 'that the worse cause is prevailing; for, professing to hate the doctrines of Nestorius, they introduce them in another way under cover of admiration for the principles of Theodore, which are smitten as badly or even worse with the plague of impiety. For Theodore was not the disciple of Nestorius, but Nestorius of Theodore. But the Orientals have written to me that we must not condemn the writings of Theodore, lest we thereby condemn those of Athanasius and other Fathers.' Then, after protesting against classing him with these Fathers, he adds, 'these same people stoned him in the church during his life for saying, "I believe that Mary was not the Mother of God;" now the common people cry out in the churches, "God prosper the faith of Theodore; we believe as Theodore did."' However, he says in another letter to Proclus, that 'for policy's sake it is better not to condemn him by name, lest some should craftily begin to make this an occasion of bewailing the downfall of Nestorius, as the Greek poet said that—

'Each Greek woman, in Patroclus' name, bewailed her own sad fate.'

(Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἐκάστη.)

Unfortunately, some of the more zealous opponents of Theodore, especially some monks of Armenia, in opposing his heresy, fell, as Eutyches afterwards did, into a contrary heresy; and this made it necessary for Cyril and Proclus to defend him. This favourable expression of opinion was one

of the grand weapons made use of by the defenders of Theodore when he was attacked in the succeeding century; but there can be no manner of doubt that S. Cyril regarded him as a heretic; and indeed he says in so many words that had he been still alive he ought to have been anathematized as such. For the present, however, these expressions were confined to letters and private conversations. The time was one when living men gave trouble enough to the leaders of the Church to make them glad to let the dead alone. Cyril had been but four years in his grave when the Eutychian heresy sprang up. The various forms of that heresy became the active anticatholic power of the next century, and adherence to the Council of Chalcedon rather than to that of Ephesus became the current test of orthodoxy. The period was one of great missionary enterprise in the West, while on the other hand the Arian Vandals were propagating their heresy with the sword among the African Churches. Altogether, people could afford for exactly a century from the death of S. Cyril to let Theodore rest quiet in his grave. But in 544 commences the celebrated dispute over the 'Three Articles' of the Emperor Justinian. That Emperor had what Hefele calls a 'mania for dogmatizing,' which the cunning of those about him could manipulate to serve their own purposes. Happily or unhappily for the Church, the Emperor was, till late in life, an orthodox Catholic; and so, while he left his generals to combat the barbarians, and devoted himself to enforcing religious conformity, it was paganism and heresy which he persecuted, and orthodoxy enjoyed the doubtful advantage of being enforced by the secular arm. The Empress Theodora, on the contrary, was a Monophysite.

The controversy about the memory of Origen was still raging among the monks of the East, and fifteen anathemas against him were pronounced by a Synod at Constantinople in the year 543. It was the desire of the Origenists at court to rid themselves of all this trouble which gave rise to the dispute on the 'Three Articles.' It occurred to Theodore Ascidas, a leading Origenist, that the Emperor's attention might be diverted from Origen if a new object were given him on which to indulge his passion for anathemas: and at the same time by a right choice of an object two other important considerations could be secured. Theodore of Mopsuestia, being the greatest of Antiochene or literalist interpreters, was the most formidable opponent of that Alexandrian mysticism which found its noblest exponent in Origen; while, as the greatest doctor of the Nestorians, he was the

polar opposite of the Monophysites in dogmatic theology. And it was the policy of the Monophysites to charge their orthodox opponents with Nestorianism just as it had been that of the Arians to make out S. Athanasius a Sabellian. It appeared then to the Origenists at court that by setting on the Emperor to anathematize Theodore, they would not only divert attention from themselves, but secure the condemnation of literalist interpretation and orthodox theology, both of which were to them embodied in the single person of Theodore.

Justinian took the bait as readily as had been anticipated, and put out fifteen *κεφάλαια* or Articles, 'to be signed by all who were minded to obey the edict of the Emperor.' Of these Articles only three became famous, those, namely, which contained condemnations of Theodore and his works, of Theodôret of Cyrus, the well-known opponent of S. Cyril, and of the letter of Ibas of Edessa to the Persian Bishop Maris. This was the original meaning of the celebrated phrase 'The Three Articles.' To sign the Three Articles was to condemn the writers in question. To support the writers was to condemn the Three Articles. But in course of time the meaning of the terms got turned exactly backwards. By the 'Three Articles' people got to mean Theodore, Theodôret, and Ibas, with their writings; and so to defend the Articles, as Facundus and the African Bishops in a body did, meant to be a Philo-Theodore; to attack the Articles meant to anathematize Theodore.

The dispute over the Three Articles is a subject far too large to be discussed with any fulness now. It has a history and a literature of its own, in which the folios may be counted by tens, and quite recently it has risen to fresh importance in the controversy on Papal Infallibility. It may perhaps be sufficient to point out the diabolical cunning, with which the subjects of debate were chosen by Theodore Ascidas, in order to show the difficulties in which the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies had involved the distracted Church. So far as one man could be so, Theodore was responsible for those difficulties, and the storm which his name helped to raise more than a century after his death will show the greatness of that responsibility.

As far as Theodore himself is concerned, the nature of the difficulties of the case has been partly shown already. The third Œcumenical Council had not condemned him by name; passages from Cyril and Proclus could be produced in which he was expressly defended, though far more and weightier pas-

sages showed that those writers condemned both his doctrine and himself: there was every objection against condemning him after his death; and above all, the Council of Chalcedon had allowed him to be called in its presence 'the blessed Theodore of Mopsuestia, that hero of the truth and doctor of the Church.' Many other testimonies were also brought forward in his favour. It was impossible then to condemn one who was obviously a heretic without seeming to go beyond, or even to run counter to, not only well-known doctors, but even Œcumenical Councils; and Monophysitism was still enough of a power in the Church to make men careful how they condemned a writer who was held in detestation by the Monophysites.

Theodôret, the second of the three writers at whom the Emperor's Articles were aimed, was one about whom it was possible to find still farther subject of dispute. He had charged S. Cyril with Apollinarism, and zealously opposed his anathemas. He had sided with John of Antioch when the Council of Ephesus was divided. But again, when S. Cyril explained himself, Theodôret had condemned Nestorianism, while he tried to save his friend Nestorius from being anathematized. When, after the death of Cyril, the See of Alexandria was identified with Monophysitism, Theodôret was excommunicated as a Nestorian. He had at length anathematized Nestorius before the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, and that Council had reinstated him in his diocese. His writings were certainly in some points unorthodox; yet again to condemn the writings might seem to be an insult to the Council which had acquitted the writer.

The letter of Ibas to Maris offered, if possible, a still more promising battle-field. It says that the anathemas of Cyril are full of impiety, and savour of Apollinarism, since they draw no distinction between the two natures of our Lord, so that the temple cannot be distinguished from Him who dwells therein. 'How,' it asks, 'can the Word, Who was from the beginning, and the temple, which was born of Mary, be used as interchangeable terms?' Yet of the letter as a whole Hefele says, that it might be interpreted either in an orthodox or an heretical sense, according to the animus of the reader. Ibas was tried and acquitted by a synod held at Tyre between the Nestorian and the Eutychian days: the Council of Chalcedon reversed a sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Robber Council of Ephesus, and some of the Fathers there assembled pronounced even the letter to Maris to be an

orthodox document. Yet that letter had plainly vilified Cyril, Rabbulas, and even the Third Council itself.

Such was the state of things when the dispute about the 'Three Articles' took place. It was impossible either to maintain or to deny the orthodoxy of the writers attacked, without seeming to contradict at least one Œcumenical Council. So utterly had the Church been distracted by Nestorianism and then by Monophysitism, that to speak against either of those heresies was to risk being charged with the other. And yet the whole dispute was got up by a third party in its own private and particular interests. The object of Theodore Ascidas was to cover his own retreat under the smoke and dust of an engagement all along the line; and the result of his manœuvre was to engage the African and Western bishops in a fierce controversy with the Orientals. The Pope, Vigilius, was commanded by the Emperor to attend in person at Constantinople. He was a weak, unworthy creature, who is said to have obtained the chair by intrigue, and who certainly disgraced it by vacillation. He first refused his signature to the Emperor's edict, and then made a secret promise to sign it. He then held conferences of the bishops present at Constantinople, and required them to sign the edict. Their conferences and signatures were published under the title of the 'Judicatum of Vigilius.' When the Judicatum excited opposition it was withdrawn, and a General Council demanded. The document itself, had it been maintained, was well calculated to allay the tumult. It condemned the Three Articles, but professed to pass the condemnation '*salvâ Synodo Chalcedonensi.*' Vigilius first demanded and then opposed the calling of a General Council, taking in the meantime a great oath to support the Emperor's designs. He twice fled, and was twice haled back, once with disgraceful violence, by the officers and soldiers of the Emperor. When the Council met in his despite, he excused himself from attending on the ground that he was not well. He sent in a 'Constitutum' as it was called, in which the writings of the three theologians were condemned and nothing said about their persons. The Emperor then produced his private correspondence with Vigilius, and the result was that the Pope was censured by the Council, and the Three Articles were condemned. Vigilius afterwards retracted all that he had said on the other side, attributing it—he the Infallible Pope—to the machinations of the Devil.

Such was, in outline, the celebrated dispute about the Three Articles of the Emperor Justinian: it ended in the con-

demnation of Theodore and his writings by a Council which has always been regarded as oecumenical. The condemnation of Theodore, at all events, was just, however undesirable it may have been to direct personal anathemas against men who had been dead a century.

With the end of the Fifth Council the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia ceases to have farther historical interest, except in so far as the disputes of the Fifth Council were prolonged in the schism of Istria; and the next point to be considered is his position in the intellectual history of the Church.

That attempt may probably be best begun by a glance at the Apollinarian heresy. Theodore was just thirty years old when Apollinaris and Vitalis made their open breach with the Catholic Church; and he had therefore heard of Apollinarism as the *question brûlante* in the East, during the important years, from twenty to thirty, when those intellectual impressions are acquired which colour a man's thought for life. Arianism and Macedonianism, it is true, were still living realities during the same period. Theodore had been a man five years when S. Athanasius died; he was more than a child when Athanasius returned from his last exile. But Arianism was not the very question of his own day, not that on which a boy of native genius was likely then to fix as being the all-absorbing topic for himself. It was Apollinarism which settled for life the bent of his intellectual predilections. It was of this that he might be expected 'to talk to his parents and to his dog, and of which he would have talked to the barbarians if he had had an interpreter.' But like other men of genius who make such a question their own, he was fated to carry it on to an entirely new stage, and to leave it to the world in a form in which, till distance had made the view panoramic, it could hardly be recognized for the same.

Apollinarism forms the point of transition from those questions which are proper to the third and fourth centuries to those which are characteristic of the fifth. Sabellianism, Arianism, and Macedonianism called forth that process of formulation, by which the Church reconciled her belief in the Divinity of her Founder with the intellectual exigencies of her Monotheistic creed. Those controversies then called forth into active life her implicit and only half formulated belief in the existence within the Godhead of certain distinctions and relations, for which no abstract terms had as yet been fully determined on. If Christ was to be worshipped as God, and yet God was One, some formula had to be found by which inquiring minds could be satisfied when they put those two

truths together, and asked how they could be compatible. Such a formula was furnished by the Nicene Creed. And the truth, which that creed embodied, was that the Unity of God was not denied when it was asserted that internal to the Divine Nature there are certain distinctions and relations; that those relations are eternal, since they are essential, not merely economic, and facts of the Divine Nature, not merely subjective distinctions in our way of looking at the One God; that on the other hand they do not constitute three Gods instead of One, nor involve any inequality of nature, since the three Persons do not partake of a common nature as individuals in a species, but rather embody or hypostatize in a threefold Being a single indivisible Essence. Such was the solution of the questions, which occupied the attention of the Church from the last quarter of the second century until far down in the fourth. Though Sabellianism, especially in its Patripassian form, had special reference to the Person of the Father, Arianism to that of the Word, Macedonianism to that of the Spirit, the real controversy in all was one and the same. All arose from the reluctance of men's minds to acknowledge, when they fairly faced it in its abstract intellectual form, the truth that Christianity had told man anything about the internal relations of the Godhead—that the New Testament supplemented, while it upheld the monotheism of the older dispensation.

But the fact that the hottest or Arian contest had raged round the Person of Jesus Christ, ensured a change of front in the battles which were so shortly to follow. While, as has been shown, the question really at issue was the doctrine of the Holy Trinity—the question, that is to say, of the distinction of Persons within the Godhead—the discussion was confined to the consideration of the claims of Jesus Christ to Divine¹ worship.

When therefore the formula of the Homoousion had defined that the man Christ Jesus was a Person of the Holy Trinity, the question was sure to arise before long—can he then be truly Man? The Arians themselves had raised the question in one of the forms which it assumed under Apollinarianis. They had said that the Divine Logos took the place

¹ The two questions are not exactly the same. That which was present to the mind of the early Church was simply the adoration due to our Lord. The distinction of Persons within the Godhead is the formula by which that adoration is justified, and being of a more metaphysical character is later in feeling than the simple instinct of the Christian to worship the Author of his salvation.

in Jesus Christ of the ordinary human soul.¹ But this fundamental tenet of Apollinarism was subordinate, though logically necessary, to the other and more important points of the Arian position, and Apollinarism was connected with Arianism rather as a reaction than as an offshoot. It was the blasphemous assertion of Arius, that the Divine Logos was mutable and might conceivably fall into sin, which drove Apollinaris into heresy. That unchangeableness, which is an essential characteristic of the Divine Personality of our Lord could only, he thought, be secured by denying Him to be in all points man. If Jesus Christ had a veritable human soul, how, it was asked, can he have been ἀτρέπτος, incapable of moral deterioration? How could the exigencies of the Nicene belief in His Divinity be reconciled with the completeness of His Humanity? This was the question before the mind of Apollinaris, and the way in which he answered it was as follows. The narrative of the Gospels made it impossible to deny altogether the reality of our Lord's human nature. Docetism then was out of the question. But S. Paul's trichotomy of humanity into body, soul, and spirit seemed to furnish a distinction which would meet the requirements of the case.

If our Lord had the σῶμα or material body, and the ψυχή or principle of animal life without the νοῦς or πνεῦμα (Apollinaris used the words interchangeably) which is the seat of human personality and moral life, it might still be said that He was Man, but the Divine Logos taking the place of the human spirit in Him would render Him incapable of falling into sin. Apollinarism then was simply a rough and rude essay at the distinction since adopted by the Church, which maintains the completeness of our Lord's Human Nature, but denies it *Personality*. However, the point at present to be discussed is not so much the actual Christology of Apollinarism, as the way in which it formed the point of transition from the questions of the fourth to those of the fifth century. It began where Arianism left off, with the Person of Jesus Christ. Arianism was concerned with the internal relations of the Godhead, and attacked the Person of Christ to save acknowledging the doctrine of the Trinity. Apollinarism deserted altogether the old ground of the internal relations of the Godhead and

¹ For the connection between the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the belief in the possibility of the Incarnation of God, the reader is referred to the wonderfully interesting essay on the 'Causes of the Rise and Successes of Arianism,' in Dr. Newman's *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*. Pickering, 1874.

attacked the Person of Christ directly, mutilating one side of that to secure, as it thought, the true conception of the other.¹

In the days, then, when Theodore of Mopsuestia was first capable of intellectual interest, *the* question before the mind of the Church was one which referred exclusively to the Person of Christ. That question differed from those which were agitated a few years later, in that while they dealt with the mutual relations, it was concerned with the real co-existence of the two natures in the single Person of our Lord. But it postulated, by the very terms in which it was stated, the existence, in some sense, of two natures in that one Person. It resolutely maintained our Lord's Divinity. It mutilated rather than denied His Humanity. It started with the question, *if* He be God and therefore unchangeable, *how* can He be truly Man? And by that *if* and that *how*, it kept before the minds of men the fact that the question of the day was one of compatibility — of the adjustment of our conception of the natures which were confessed, rather than of the existence of any nature which was not confessed. It remained for Theodore to turn the current of theological thought entirely into this new channel; and the way in which he did so will be best seen by taking some extracts from the fragments of his work on the Incarnation.²

In the first of these fragments he discusses the manner of the Divine indwelling in Christ.

'The question has been raised,' he says, 'whether God dwelt in Christ essentially (*οὐσίᾳ*), or effectually (*ἐνεργείᾳ*). But neither of these terms can be accepted as rightly expressing the manner of the Divine indwelling. For, 1st, we cannot say that God dwells in all things, or even in all men, else what is the meaning of His promising to dwell in the saints? 2nd. We cannot say He dwells by the Presence of Essence in some and not in others, for that were to limit His essential Presence. Nor, 3rd, can we say that He dwells effectually, *ἐνεργείᾳ*, in some and not in others, for His operation can no more be limited than His Essence. So that, 4th,

¹ Macedonianism has been left out of sight here. It was really a theological anachronism. Though later in date than Apollinarism, it was earlier in feeling, and was but a last desperate shift of semi-Arianism to evade the full consequences of the Nicene decision.

² Many such fragments are preserved in the records of the Fifth Council, but those which will best serve the present purpose are to be found in the work of Leontius of Byzantium against Nestorians and Eutychians, and are printed all together in *Angelo Mai's Collectio Nova Veterum Scriptorum*.

we must say it is *εὐδοκία*, or *γνώμη*, or *σχέσει τῆς διαθέσεως*, by His own good pleasure, or mind towards them, that He is present in some and not in others. To assert that He is equally present to all were to make Him the slave of His own Omnipresence. But, if He withdraws Himself from some and is present to others in regard of His mind towards them, then no unworthy consequence follows from the doctrine of His Omnipresence.

So far this is orthodox enough : but he proceeds to draw a distinction between the Presence of God in the saints and His Presence in Christ Jesus, which is utterly inadequate to maintain the reality of the Incarnation. The manner of the Incarnation, he says, resembles the indwelling of God in the saints, the presence of *εὐδοκία*, but differs from it :

‘God is present in Christ, not as in His saints, but as in His Son, so that dwelling in Him, He joined wholly to Himself the man whom He assumed (*τὸν λαμβανόμενον*), and prepared him to partake along with Himself of all the honour which He the indwelling one possessed by nature as the Son of God, so as to join the two into a single Person, as regards at least the union with Himself, and to give him a share of His government, and other prerogatives, taking of course into account the difference in the characteristic properties of the two natures.’

This is the most important passage of those which are to be brought forward, and indeed contains the germ of all the rest. In it *the man who was assumed* is spoken of as distinct from the Son who assumed him, and as partaking with the Son of His Own glory. In other words the proposition that ‘the Word was made flesh’ is explained away altogether. In another fragment, in which he speaks directly of the opening words of S. John, he would seem to be guarding them chiefly against being explained as though the Divine Nature had undergone change : but there, he says, the words are not to be pressed to their full meaning, for the Word was made flesh only in appearance, *κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν*. In the longer passage just quoted he denies that the Human nature was taken into the Godhead in any such sense as to constitute a veritable Incarnation of God. For it is essential to a true conception of the Incarnation, that it should differ absolutely and in kind from all other modes of the Divine Presence, inasmuch as in it and in it only is the Presence of God Himself conditioned by space. In virtue of the Incarnation only, can we say that God is locally present in this place, and not, in the same way, in that. Of the Presence of God by grace or influence, as of the

special manifestations of His Presence, we could say that it was vouchsafed in one place and not in another. But in the Incarnation we must assert, that God the Word became so truly Man, that He assumed a new mode of Presence in virtue of which He Himself, as Man, truly is located in one place and not in another. This 'hypostatic union' Theodore in so many words denied, and the denial constituted the grand central tenet of his Christological speculations. The one principle, which runs through the fragment just given, and all the others which contain his Christology, is that of introducing in reality, though not in words, a double personality into what the Church has ever held to be the single Person of Christ.

The remaining fragments, which are to be given, are quoted to illustrate the ethical motive of Theodore's teaching, and it may therefore be well to pause a moment here and explain exactly what is meant by the distinction which will have frequently to be drawn in the sequel between the speculative and the ethical motive of inquiries relative to the Person of Jesus Christ. Such questions have a metaphysical interest to the theologian, as they touch on the actual co-existence and relations in His Person of the Infinite Nature of God and the finite nature of man. This constitutes their speculative motive. But they have another and to many minds a deeper interest, as they touch on the moral development of the most perfect of human characters. This constitutes their ethical motive. A system of Christology attains to or fails of speculative completeness, according as it does or does not acknowledge a perfect union of the Divine and human Natures in all their fulness in the Person of Christ. It gains or loses ethical completeness, according as it makes Him capable of true moral development, or, on the other hand, reduces His human nature to a mere passive appendage to His Divinity.

The passage quoted above shows what was the central weakness of Theodore's speculative position, namely the denial of a perfect union between the Divine and the human natures. It follows to give two or three, to show how its ethical exaggerations were the cause of its speculative errors.

He says in one place that 'though in a sense God and man make but one Person in Him, as two do in marriage make one flesh, yet neither nature can be complete unless it be personal: when we look at the union we speak of but one Person; when we look at the natures we speak of two Persons.' The use of this figure of marriage in such a context would seem of itself to indicate, that his whole conception

of the relation utterly came short of that hypostatic union, as it was called by S. Cyril, which can alone constitute the Incarnation of God. How completely Theodore's system severed the manhood from any true union with the Godhead, may be seen from the way, in which he speaks of that ethical development of the manhood, a complete conception of which was really the end at which he was aiming, an end for the sake of which he was prepared, like Arius, to sacrifice any other truth which stood in the way of attaining to it. 'There was,' he says, 'a certain progression in the degree to which the Divine word wrought in Christ, just as there is ethical progress in ourselves. Even in the womb He had union with the Word. When He became capable of discerning between good and evil He was quicker in moral judgment than other boys, because of His divine birth of a Virgin; and He had an extraordinary impulsion towards what was good, *ρόπην οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν πρὸς τὰ κρείττω*, through that union with the Divine Word of which He was deemed worthy because of that foreknowledge of the Divine Word, who from above united Him to Himself. Thus was He preserved during His life without undergoing any moral deterioration, *ἄτρεπτον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς*. He is now by His own disposition worthy of union with God, and has, besides, the co-operation of the Divine Word, whose action can be in no wise separated from His.' And again, 'His greater ease in the performance of virtuous acts as compared with other men, came to Him in as far as the Divine Word from the first gave Him more of His own assistance, foreseeing what His character would be (*κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῦ ὁποῦός τις ἔσται*).' 'His baptism,' it is added, 'marked a time of special advance in this moral union with the Divine Word.' These passages illustrate admirably that moral motive, which dominated all Theodore's speculations about the Person of Jesus Christ. In his eyes the first condition of a healthy Christology was that it should recognize in Christ the Head, as in all the members of the race, the possibility of a free ethical development. And this he thought could only be done by putting the human nature under a different personality from the Divine.

Another passage, quoted by Dorner and Neander, shows still more plainly the importance in Theodore's mind of finding room in his conception of Christ for this unfettered ethical development. The condition, he there says, of all creaturely perfection is development from a condition of moral fluidity to one in which change for the worse is impossible. For the creature to attain to its own highest perfection in any

other way is impossible, for that good is not the arbitrary bestowal of anything from without, but the development of its own dormant capacities. This is true of the entire universe, and that universe finds its culminating point in man, who again finds his culminating point in Christ. Man was created by God as a kind of lower god for the kosmos. All creatures were to worship him almost as God, and he was to be a priest offering up the service of the universe to its Maker, being fitted for that office by the composite character of his nature, combining as it does a material with an immaterial principle. Christ was the ideal man in whose likeness, as their primordial type, all other men were made; and in Him, for the first time, man, and all other creatures as represented by man, offered up to God that service which it was always intended they should offer.

It is the nobility of these speculations and their startling resemblance to some of the best thought of our own day, both theological and secular, which gives the character of Theodore its intense interest. They want only the counterbalancing admission, that, without the grace of God working in him, man cannot thus offer up the homage of creation to God, to make them orthodox as applied to ordinary men. As applied to Christ they are but a pressing of S. Paul's doctrine of the first and second Adam, to the neglect of his sublime oxymoron that 'the second man *is* the Lord from heaven.' Failing of the truths, which should thus have balanced them, they necessitated, on the one hand, the Pelagian denial of the paramount necessity of grace, and, on the other, the separation of the Divine and Human Natures in Christ under different personalities. And if the grandeur of the speculations themselves goes as far as anything could do to make one condone their want of orthodoxy, the sympathy of the reader is still more enlisted with Theodore, when it is realized how Apollinarism must have driven him to put every intellectual barrier he could find between himself and the Alexandrine theology. We can imagine the fiery youth who had first rushed into the ascetic life, and then as impetuously turned from it, rejecting with generous indignation the mutilated conception of Christ which Apollinaris would have forced upon the Church. He longed for the human sympathy of a Christ in all points like himself. He desired an ideal for admiration, in whom the mysterious Presence of the Divine Logos should not blunt the clear-cut outline of free human development. The craven-spirited Alexandrians, he would say, fear to lose sight of the Divinity of the Christ, if they

allow their eye to dwell too steadily on the living Jesus of the Gospels. Against such teachers as these it did not seem sufficient to assert, that the Christ could not carry out His mission if He was not very man. He must needs be *a* man, a human person, with and in whom, for love of his moral beauty, the Logos was well pleased to dwell. And here, alas! there was no Chrysostom to curb the impetuosity of Theodore. And the mind so prone to reactions went on from point to point till the Unity of Christ was denied, and the character of moral evil lost sight of, and the hard, cold glitter of Antiochene rationalism took the place of the generous enthusiasm which had been revolted by the teaching of Apollinaris.

Such being the speculative character, and such the moral motive, of Theodore's teaching on the Person of Christ, it follows to show the connection in the mind of their common originator between these views, popularized afterwards by Nestorius, and those others which we associate with Pelagius. The exact link of connection is to be found, as *a priori* we should have expected, in the passages in which he speaks of the origin of evil, and of the connection between spiritual and physical death. In a fragment preserved by Marius Mercator, it is asserted that God permitted or even caused man to sin, 'because without knowing the worse he could not know the better course.' And in another place he denies that it was sin which brought death upon man.

In these passages, as will be seen at a glance, he simply applies to the case of ordinary men the same principles which in his Christological speculations he had applied to the God-Man. The hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ seemed to interfere with His free moral development, and it was therefore denied. Innocence seemed incompatible with moral development in man, and so that, too, must be given up. Sin could be no real evil if it was the condition of moral growth. A state of innocence in which virtue was not a struggle, and sin not a living power, could in Theodore's eyes be but a step towards a higher stage in which virtue should become conscious of itself. As compared with the progressive overcoming of evil, it was as childhood is to manhood, and sleep to waking; a state which has a certain moral beauty of its own, but one in which mere æsthetic loveliness is dearly purchased by the absence of moral consciousness.

With the boldness of a great systematizer Theodore went

straight to the full consequences of this his central moral tenet. Jesus he maintained to be a man in whom the Logos was well pleased to dwell for love of his moral beauty, but a man who was, like all other men, capable by nature of sin. And in all other men he said that sin was, if not the work of God, at all events part of His design.

The whole of the Pelagian system was simply a further application of these same principles to the actions of the regenerate will in man. As the hypostatic union was denied, lest it should derogate from the ethical completeness of Christ, so the efficacious working of grace must be explained away lest it should derogate from the moral dignity of Christians. The divine and human elements must be kept as jealously apart in the moral life of the members as in the person of the Head of the Church. In the ultimate analysis it must be proved that the initial movement in every good action came from the human will itself, though when this was allowed, the grace of God might receive, by an exact process of assessment, its due share of credit for the result. As Nestorius allowed the Presence of God in Christ, provided the human nature was kept apart under a separate personality, so Pelagius allowed the presence of grace in human action, provided that the first movement, by which grace was accepted, were referred to the unassisted will. But, to clothe Pelagianism for a moment in a strictly modern garb, in this highest region of human life, that of its relations with God Himself, as in the lower region of merely moral life, it must ever be borne in mind that happiness, the highest good of man, depends not on what he has, but on what he is—not on circumstances, but on character. Grace was a gift from without, and that which is highest in man must always be what comes from within. Men must be told 'Work out your own salvation;' but it could not be added, without robbing that injunction of its highest moral significance, 'for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of His good pleasure.'

S. Paul has the same sublime disregard for a merely human logic in his doctrine of grace and free will as he has in his Christology. But Theodore and his followers would fain be logically exact where S. Paul was content to be mystically illuminated, and the result was heresy. S. Paul said of Christ, 'The second man is the Lord from heaven.' Nestorius replied, 'Never will I acknowledge a child of three months old to be God.' S. Paul said to the followers of Christ, 'Work out your own salvation, for it is God that worketh in you.' Pelagius

replied in effect, 'Never will I acknowledge that it is His own gifts which God crowns in us.'¹ In other words, S. Paul was inspired, and therefore mystical, Theodore was coldly logical, and therefore heretical.²

It is necessary, in dealing with questions which Holy Scripture treats in this way, to cling to the principle that Catholic truth is to be sought in both extremes, not in one; *in* the extremes, not between them; but it is allowable so to state the Church's doctrine and to find analogies for it, as to tone down, as far as possible, the contradiction which we never can escape. It may then be asked, do not the ideas of the Incarnation of God in Christ, and of the operation of grace in man, involve a mystical relation between the Divine and human natures which can only be described as a *practical interpenetration of the two*?³ The doctrine of the hypostatic union of Natures in Christ, and of the impersonality of His human nature, shows that the working of His human will must have been in absolute and spontaneous accord with that of His Divine Will, being a different operation of the same One and indivisible Personality. And this sublime truth will make it possible to believe, that in all regenerate men the operation of the grace of God, instead of being in antithesis to that of the human will, may become indistinguishable from, and mystically identical with it.

But this statement is so opposed to received habits of thought on this disputed topic that it cannot be accepted, or perhaps fully understood, unless it be put forward as part of a theory of the whole character of the highest moral choice.

That theory may then be briefly stated as follows. When the highest region of morality is reached, the coincidence of desire and will becomes absolute. The better course is chosen, not because the goadings of conscience make it less tolerable to do wrong and enjoy oneself than to do right and suffer, but because the right commends itself by its intrinsic beauty, and the wrong is intolerable from its native hatefulness. If this was the case from the first with the human will of our Lord, then the merit of its free choice of good is in no way interfered

¹ '*Deus in nobis dona coronat sua.*'—S. Augustine.

² In all which has been said above on Pelagianism, the writer has at every step to acknowledge his obligations to Dr. Mozley's unpublished lectures.

³ Not, of course, as regards the Incarnation, that personal and actual interpenetration which is held by Lutheran theologians under what they call the '*communicatio idiomatum*.' The 'two natures in Christ must be kept as jealously from confusion as if they did not co-exist in one Person.

with by the absolute unity of His Person.¹ God as man, choosing ever the right because right is lovely in His eyes, will have no less human merit, and be no less an object for imitation, than a mere man in whom the Logos has been well pleased to dwell 'for the prevision of his moral perfection' (*κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῦ ὁποῖός τις ἔσται*). On this theory of morality, which makes it the highest state of freedom to be incapable of doing wrong, the Divine and human natures, mutually exclusive in themselves, are in their practical working capable of interpenetrating one another; and the hypostatic union in which the two natures are joined into One Person becomes, so to speak, *natural*, instead of incredible, because it is seen to be the highest expression of that 'mutual attraction of the Divine and human natures' which nothing but sin can hinder, and which not even sin has done away. Nothing, it would seem, can make this personal union of the Divine and human natures incredible in the field of abstract thought, except the feeling that they must stand absolutely apart in that of moral action. If in man there be no moral region in which liberty and necessity melt into a mystical indifference, then the hypostatic union is incredible. But if at a certain stage—unattainable it may be in anything short of the beatific vision—the good becomes so congenial to the purified and regenerate will, that for its own eternal loveliness that will cannot choose but embrace it; if man can be so the willing slave of God that the thought of disobeying Him is agony, and obedience to Him the only joy; if, in a word, it be true that in the ultimate moral analysis goodness and beauty are identical, and duty and pleasure inseparable, then the union of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ is as congenial to reason as it is certain to faith.

And if love be the fulfilling of the law, this theory of morality must be true. Love knows no anxious balancings between the evil, which is almost desired, and the good, which is only not loathed. Love goes straight to its mark: it chooses the good because it cannot but choose it: it moves sweetly and spontaneously beneath a force by which it is willingly compelled. Such, then, was the unvarying action of the human will of Christ. While the two natures in Him were essentially distinct, their working was spontaneously coincident. The

¹ For the whole treatment of the question from the Lutheran point of view, against which this argument is in part directed, the reader is referred to Dorner's *History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, part ii. vol. i., in Clark's translation. Dorner holds that the doctrine of the impersonality of our Lord's humanity destroys the moral value of His actions.

freedom of His human will *consisted* in an absolute incapability of doing wrong. As in God, so in the God-Man, liberty meant the being always freely determined towards that which is absolutely best. With God that which is absolutely best is so because He wills it, and He wills it because it is absolutely best; for there we reach a region in which cause and effect, motive and action, can no longer be regarded as separable. In Christ these things are distinct, but while distinct they are coincident.

As regards the union of the two natures in Christ, the mystical formula of the hypostatic union furnished the Church with an answer to all objections. And this no doubt was why, in spite of the want of authorized formulæ on the subject, the Augustinian exaggerations of the doctrine of grace did her no ultimate injury. So long as she held firmly to the true relation of the natures in Christ; she could not err about the relations of grace and free will in man. The same mystical unity obtains in the actions of the regenerate will as in those of Christ Himself, except that the one is a moral union of grace and operation only, while the other is a personal union. The mind of the Church has never been as clearly expressed on the doctrine of grace and free will as on that of the Person of Christ. But she would seem never to have adopted the Augustinian view in its fulness. 'Irresistible grace' is not her doctrine, but the free and spontaneous coincidence of the human will with grace. If the presence of a divine and a human element in every good action of the regenerate will be once made a postulate, it is evident that either of those factors may be so pressed as that the other shall in strict logic appear to be incompatible with it; and Augustine on one side, like Pelagius on the other, seems thus to have pressed his own postulate. But the Church has treated the matter as S. Paul has already been shown to have done. She regards grace and free will as being like the parallel lines which, for geometrical purposes, never meet, but which the higher mathematics regard as meeting at infinity. In the fullest sense in which the word can be used, grace would seem to mean nothing less than the presence of God Himself energizing in the soul of His creature. Yet this operation of God does not in the eyes of the Church exclude, on the contrary, it postulates, the free action of the human will. In thought we can distinguish the divine and human elements in the process which results from this meeting of the Creator and the creature, but in fact they are inseparable. If an electric current be passed through a vessel of water so as to separate

the oxygen and hydrogen of which it is composed, the residuum will be the elements of water, it will not be water. And in the same way, if by analysis *à posteriori* we separate the Divine and human elements in that which we call grace in the heart, the residuum may be the constituent elements of grace, but the fact, which we were trying to analyse, has disappeared in the process.

This would appear to be the true mind of the Church as regards the question at issue between Augustine and Pelagius. This controversy had no Cyril to leave to the whole Church a phrase, which should become part of her inheritance; but it is hardly to be doubted, in the light of her decisions at Ephesus and Chalcedon, that had she adopted any such formula on the relations of grace and free will as she there adopted on those of the two Natures in Christ, its principle would have been one of mystical harmony rather than of logical accuracy.

To sum up, then, this discussion of the two doctrines put forward by Theodore, and of their mutual relations. His fundamental error, which resulted in Nestorianism and Pelagianism, seems to have been this. He forgot that the principle which binds together heaven and earth is love. All morality, accordingly, appeared to him to be necessarily a painful process of the conflict of opposing principles. It seemed to him that in the creature freedom and eternal law must ever be mutually exclusive, though in the Creator they are eternally identical. But in the Creator, they are eternally identical, simply because God is love. And just as far as man can make love his ruling principle, so far, for him as for his Maker, do liberty and necessity become one. Love is always bound, because it is always absolutely free, and with the whole force of its essential freedom goes straight to its one object. Love, then, is the grand bond of union by which the antinomies of the Divine and human natures are resolved in Christ and in Christians. As the Spirit, who is love, binds the Father and the Son together in the union of the eternal Trinity, so He binds the Divine and human natures into a personal union in Christ, and binds the Divine and human elements into a moral unity in us each time that we do right by God's grace. In this mystical unity of love, the hard lines of Nestorian and Pelagian logic melt away. In the region of speculative theology, it is possible to believe in one Christ: in the region of moral action, it is possible to believe in the coincidence of Divine grace and human freedom.

So far of Theodore and his system. But an essay

towards the history of doctrine would but half fulfil its object did it close without some remarks on the light which its subject throws on the problems of the present day, and the attitude of Churchmen towards them.

The reader can hardly fail to have been struck with the contrast between the scanty knowledge of the great Theodore, and even of his writings, which has come down to our day, and the well-defined intellectual spectrum which his influence casts for our analysis. We cannot reconstruct the personal character. A gleam here and a shadow there must constitute our knowledge of the man. But are we not too prone, it may be asked, to be content with but a shadowy acquaintance with that which may become to us more real, viz.: the similarity, the almost identity, of the problems of the fifth Christian century with those of our own day? The whole way in which the history of doctrine is handled by modern theologians may well lead men of the world to think, that the problems, which had a living interest to Cyril or to Augustine, can be to us but as shadowy figures projected by the light of half-perished memories. As regards the long development of modern thought through the early days of the Church's speculative activity, we seem to deserve the words which have been lately, and it may be hoped in this region undeservedly, said of our realization of the central events of our religion—that the faint spectral figure of our Lord in the Refectory at Milan 'is the image of what the history it symbolizes has been more and more ever since, paler and paler, as it recedes from us.' People ask, and so long as our theological teaching is what it is, they will ask, what, after all, is our personal interest in the problems which to Cyril or to Augustine were matters of a passionate life and death struggle? Does any one now go about to teach the world that there were two personalities in Christ? Are the relations of grace and free will in human action interesting to any but a few theological antiquarians? and on the answer which the Church and her teachers are prepared to give to these questions depends her hold on the mind of England. So far as that hold has relaxed, it is due in part to our handling of living questions as something different in kind from those which occupied the Church in the days when she was the intellectual arbitress of the world. To come to the question which in the present day is the most perfect counterpart of that which Theodore brought before the world.—Does the Christian Church of to-day treat utilitarianism in morals, and its counterpart, materialism in philosophy, as a question

which comes within the natural range of her teaching? Has not the tendency rather been, even in those who have grappled with these questions, to wonder that they should have had the rudeness to break in upon our reverie?—and yet this is simply the reappearance, in the form in which it was inevitable that it should reappear, of the question for which Cyril and Augustine girded themselves as a matter of course. Until the almost injured feeling, with which we regard our part in controversy, is got over, we shall do little to sustain that part. Churchmen sometimes appear almost to think that it was reasonable that the Church of the fourth century should be expected to contend with heresy, which kept to theological ground, but that we are hardly used in being compelled to fight in the open field, instead of behind the bulwarks of the Creeds. And then they wonder that some of those who are more ready for the open encounter cry down the old fortresses as useless, and are prepared to dismantle them accordingly.

One of the weak points of the Church's position has lain in the fact, that, while the assailants have known well that in attacking the Athanasian Creed, they were battering at a real obstacle, the defenders were long allowed to think that they were fighting for a relic of antiquity. Were this the case, shadow must go down before substance, antiquarian taste before scientific enthusiasm. But let it be known that the contest now is the same as it was when those formulæ came into being, and the attitude of the defenders will alter. If this end is really to be secured, we must be content to reduce the old questions to a new phraseology. We must be ready to reduce to terms of philosophy and of physical science, the truths which in their theological dress strike the ear of the world as an anachronism. In the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, the Church has had committed to her charge the key by which all the difficulties of philosophy and of science can be, and ought to be, unlocked. But the wards in which it must turn are not now of the same shape as they were once. And the old key must be refashioned to fit the new locks. The names of Strauss and Huxley have a very different set of associations from those of Eutyches and Theodore. Yet they have but reproduced in the form, which is proper to our day, the same difficulties which those older teachers raised. In France, Locke is repeating by the mouth of Comte, and in England by that of Spencer, what he himself, however little he may have known it, did but repeat from Arius and Theodore: while modern pantheism is again but an

unconscious repetition of the ideas of monophysitism. As regards Theodore himself this may easily be made plain. If the reader is not already too weary, let him turn his thoughts back for a moment to that which was shown to be the central point from which the moral and speculative sides of Theodore's teaching branched off, the problem of moral evil. When Theodore asserted that God allowed men to sin in order to their moral development, he lost sight of the eternal distinction between moral and physical evil. When he denied that death was brought upon mankind by sin, he inverted their mutual relations. In this he simply anticipated the teaching of modern utilitarianism, for he brought down the distinction of right and wrong from the region of our personal relations with God to that of human expediency. He made the consequences of human action the origin, not the result, of its moral character. It was impossible for a writer of that day to put the whole question out of relation to the idea of God; but by explaining that it was not of the essence of sin to be an outrage against Him, he approached as nearly as a man of that day could to the platform of atheistic morality. It has been sufficiently demonstrated above, how all his other teaching hinged upon this single point. And it will therefore perhaps be sufficient before concluding, to try and draw out the vital importance of a question, to which it can make no difference whether it appear in an ancient or a modern form.

To every mind which aims at intellectual completeness in its conceptions of God and man, the meaning of moral evil must present itself as the crucial question. Here the choice must be made between that abstract completeness of logical conception, and that practical satisfaction of moral instinct, which can never in this life be compatible. The mind which has ranged on unsatisfied and without perhaps realizing the full import of its own questions, through long speculations and doubts, must here make its final choice. On the one hand let the admission once be made, that there is no evil in the universe, which cannot be in some sense explained as a step in the development of good, and logical completeness seems to accrue to the whole conception of God's dealings with man. On the other hand, let the evil which is felt within be admitted to be in antagonism to God; regard it as the working of a principle hostile to Him, which not only 'is not,' but 'cannot be, subject to His law,' and the two strongest moral instincts of humanity, the instinct of contrition and the instinct of aspiration, find the satisfaction for which they crave.

If it be possible so to explain moral evil as to reduce the struggle of life to that game of chess between man and nature described by Professor Huxley—if we can conceive of God as looking on at that struggle, holding aloof that by our own unaided efforts we may attain to the highest good, namely the experience that submission to law is a condition of creaturely happiness, then, in a certain sense, our conception of His love gains completeness. That love, such as we conceive it to be, will stand out clear and unclouded before us, not blurred by the dreadful pall of the smoke which the Apostle saw going up for ever and ever. It requires a comparatively small effort of faith to believe that temporal evil is but a step in the working out of some higher good. It is the belief in the eternity of evil, which makes the greatest demand upon the faith of the Christian of to-day. Nothing but the consciousness that within himself moral evil is a dread reality, can make him believe in hell. To many minds, it is true, as to that of the present writer, this middle course of Deism, a belief in a God to whom sin is not what the Bible teaches that it is, offers no relief whatever from the exigencies of the whole Christian Creed. Such minds can at least enter into the feelings of Mr. James Mill in his preference for Atheism over Deism. The problem presents itself to them in some such form as this. If moral and physical evil are not regarded as different in kind, if moral evil be not an outrage on the sanctity of a Personal Being, then what do we gain either morally or intellectually by retaining any conception of God? To such minds the only possible conception of Him is that which Christianity presents to them, that namely of a Being in whom Holiness and Love are inseparable, nay identical. To them the love of God loses all meaning, if it be reduced to a huge embodiment of the utilitarian conception of benevolence. The whole moral character of His love is lowered, when sin has ceased to be regarded as an outrage upon His perfect holiness. Take away the belief that moral good and evil are different in kind from all other good and evil whatsoever, and the idea of God and of His love vanishes from their spiritual horizon. It would not be overstating the case to go one step farther, and to say—eliminate hell from theology, and you eliminate God and Love. For the doctrine of the eternity of punishment is but the reflex of the belief that Holiness is the one good in the universe and sin the one evil.

But putting aside for a moment the conviction that the alternative must ultimately lie between the Catholic faith and naked atheism, the problem may be stated thus. On one

side it is possible by explaining the eternal antagonism of right and wrong into the mere conflict of jarring circumstances, to conceive of God as all good, and therefore intolerant of evil, all powerful, and therefore not bound to tolerate it. The only effort required of faith will then be to explain the sufferings and wrongs of this world as a step in the ultimate development of a final and all-embracing good,—a step which possibly our experience of the way in which 'pain enters on its glorified life of memory' may enable us in some degree to understand.

But this explanation of the tanglements of life, while it will not serve wholly to eliminate mystery and its unwelcome attendant humility, will have been purchased at the sacrifice of the two most precious treasures of the moral life of man, the feelings of aspiration and of contrition. These can only find their full scope, when moral evil is looked at unblenchingly in the light of a personal relation between God and His fallen creatures. It is towards a Being, before whose holiness all which contradicts His Love must be withered and scorched, that those instincts must go out for satisfaction. If our God be not a consuming fire, He is not Holiness nor Love. But if these are His essential characteristics, if without these we cannot conceive of Him, then while the aspirations of the soul go forth to Him, and its contrition bows down at His feet, the eyes of the intellect must be veiled before the problem which His attributes present. It must acknowledge, that the existence of evil cannot in our present condition be reconciled with His Omnipotence and His Love. Are we then, for the sake of making that problem one degree less insoluble, to explain away the deepest meaning which good and evil can convey to us, to say that there is no sin and no hell? or shall we acknowledge that the evil, which is within us, is the one tangible reality of life, that the aspiration which struggles, and the contrition which protests, against the toleration of evil, are the indication of some higher good against which that evil is an outrage? Shall we accept the contradiction of evil to secure the moral conception of good? This is the ultimate issue of the question which Theodore raised.

'Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in Thy sight; that Thou mightest be justified in Thy saying, and be clear when Thou art judged.' This is the answer which that question must receive from those minds in every age, to which the consciousness of sin in the heart forms the clue to all theology. It cannot be too strongly urged on theologians and on Christians generally, that much must

depend in the future on the boldness, with which they maintain that none but a moral clue can unravel the mysteries of God. And this truth must be put forward not in a timid, apologetic strain, but with the aggressiveness of assured conviction. The existence of suffering, death, and hell itself, so irreconcilable by the mere intellect with the idea of the love of God, must be shown to be to the moral consciousness an essential part of that love. And it must be resolutely maintained, that when any question of this kind comes as it were to be matter of debate between the intellectual and the moral consciousness, the claims of the latter to satisfaction are absolute, and can brook no appeal.

But this is not all the task which Churchmen must set before themselves. Subject to this one appeal from the intellectual to the moral consciousness, the Church must be prepared as of old to present an intellectual front to the philosophical questions of the day. Her task, if she is true to herself, must be the same in the nineteenth century as it was in the fourth and fifth. The extreme developments of Alexandrine and Antiochene theology represented in that age the two great schools of Pantheistic and Materialistic thought, into which the non-Catholic world must always be more and more divided. And between these conflicting schools the Church must be prepared to hold the balance. She alone has been entrusted with the tally which will fit the inner edge of these two parted fragments. Her doctrine of the Trinity in Unity resolves the old antinomy of the many and the one—shows how, in a region beyond human thought, the One is hypostatized as Many, and the Many are truly One. In her doctrine of the Incarnation the other great antinomy of matter and spirit finds its ultimate resolution. To all other systems these fundamental antitheses of thought must always be irreconcilable. No merely philosophical thought can reconcile a belief in the Infinite with the reality of finite existence. In the Person of her Incarnate Lord the Church sees both embodied. She alone, then, is strong enough to be comprehensive where philosophy must be one-sided. She alone can afford to acknowledge that no intellectual system can be complete, which does not at a certain point go beyond the limits of logic to pass within those of mystery. When that point is reached the alternatives are these: 1st, to ignore with Pantheism the reality of the finite; 2nd, to deny with Materialism the existence or the cognizability of the Infinite, and even the possibility of any immediate knowledge of the mind itself; 3rd, to acquiesce in the scepticism of mere

literary culture, and the indifference of intellectual despair; or, 4th, to put oneself into the hands of the Church, to be initiated into the Divine mysteries of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation.

It may be asked then, whether the modern representatives of that body, which ought to be the arbitress of the schools, are going to allow her always to be a negative quantity in the philosophical thought of the day. The voice which said, 'These be thy gods, O Philosophy!' has been hushed for ever in this world. Is it too much to believe that for thinkers of a younger generation, who have inherited Dean Mansel's faith, it may be reserved to build on the Church's foundation that structure, whose impossibility on any other his line of argument seemed at any rate meant to prove? It is useless to proclaim to Idealism and Materialism that they both are hopelessly wrong, unless the Church has something positive to offer.

She must be everything or nothing. She must move with the movements of the day, presenting an ever fresh front to ever fresh combinations, or else in the helplessness of paralysis she must abandon her mission in the world. Before us, as before Athanasius or Cyril, lies the task of harmonizing the moral and the intellectual sides of the great problems which, now as then, are to be met, and grappled with, and resolved. We may not choose for ourselves the forms in which those problems are to be presented to our own generation, but in some form or another they must inevitably be presented. Men still sit bound in the cave where the eye of Plato first saw them. Across the wall in countless succession the shadowy forms still flit. But the substantial realities which cast them are ever behind our backs. They move independently of our will; they adopt fresh fantastic forms for each generation of men. But above is the calm sunlight. The Church descends into the darkness to tell of One Who not only gives, but is, Light. She raises us for a brief moment into the upper region, shows us that there is our true country. 'In Thy light,' she bids us say, 'shall we see light.' She repeats the one message, which the beloved Apostle declared, 'That God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all.' And yet we are content to forget that higher illumination, which, if it be anything at all, must be absolutely and in all things true. We allow the non-Christian world, bound hand and foot as it is, and unable to turn away from the shadows, to proclaim to all who hear, that those shadows are the only truth. We act as if the heritage of truth could be divided—as if that could be true in theology which is false in philosophy.

And the natural result ensues. By far the largest portion of the rising intellect of the day acquiesces in the claims of a contemptuous Paganism to 'bestride the narrow world like a Colossus.'

ART. VI.—SACERDOTALISM.

IF we would rightly understand the true idea of Priesthood, a subject so much debated in the present day, we must look at it first as exhibited in the Lord Jesus Christ. No Priesthood has either any meaning or real existence apart from His. All other Priesthood is but a mode, higher or lower, of the exhibition of His. He is not only the Supreme Priest; He is, in the true use of words, the only Priest. The thought of any Priesthood apart from His, much more rivalling His, is not only monstrous, it is theologically absurd.

All Priesthood is but the outer form and exercise of His inherent, and indefeasible, Priesthood. His Priesthood belongs to Him inherently and indefeasibly because He is, in His Eternal and Divine nature, the Son of God, the First-Born, the Only-Begotten. To Him, *as such*, belongs a mediatorial character, not only supreme, but unique; and that not in respect of the work of redemption only, but of creation also.

Holy Scripture is wonderfully consistent in its declaration that all the *ad extra* action of the Eternal Father, as much in the original creation of all things 'in the beginning,' as in redemption, is 'through' (*διὰ*) the Son, who is the eternal *Λόγος*, the Wisdom and the Word of the Father. Nay, within the Divine nature itself, does not the Eternal Procession of the Spirit from the Father through the Son point to a still more marvellous and deeply underlying instance of the same high truth of the relations of the Father and the Son? This essentially mediatorial character of the Son of God in nature as in grace is somewhat obscured to English readers of the present day by our use, in the English Scriptures and Creeds, of 'by,' where the exacter rendering would be 'through.' To such John i. 3, 10, Coloss. i. 16, Heb. i. 2, seem to ascribe the act of creation directly and originally to the Son. This (we think) Holy Scripture nowhere does, though it everywhere

reveals that all was done 'through' the Son; as also that all was done, or made, *to* Him and *for* Him, as the Sole Heir; and, further, that the continued existence of all that is is 'in' Him and depends on Him, Who 'upholdeth all things by the word of His power.'

If we once grasp this profound truth—and how exquisitely is it set before us in Proverbs viii. 22-31!—we shall the better understand the place and function of the Eternal Son, as the Priest and Mediator in God's vast universe.

As the original mysterious gift of life and being, from the 'well of life' in Him Who originally 'hath life in Himself,' passed to created things, intelligent, animated, and inanimate, through the Uncreated Son; and, with the gift of life, all its subordinate and concomitant blessings of not merely support and sustenance, but of growth and development of all latent capacities; so from the created universe, thus blessed by the Father, arises to Him the unceasing sacrifice, from each of His creatures according to its kind, of thanksgiving worship, and of praise; and this solely 'through' Him Who, in all things having the pre-eminence, is the supreme and sole-sufficient Representative of creation (which is His kingdom and inheritance) in its aspect towards the Father, Who views it as it 'consists' in and through the Eternal Son.

It is thus that in the Son are exhibited the two aspects of Priesthood: *First*, that, as between the Father and creation, He is the medium of life and blessing; and *Second*, that, as between created existence and the Father, He is the one worthy Presenter of Praise and adoring Homage.

Here, too, we may discern with reverence a reason, apart from the necessity of Redemption, for that union of the Divine with created nature which took place in the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, whereby God hath 'gathered together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth.' And in this union is guaranteed, according to the teaching of the Catholic Faith, whatever truth there is in Pantheism, without that loss of the living and conscious Personality of both Creature and Creator which makes Pantheism practically atheistic.

It is the reflection of this essential and inalienable prerogative of the Son, First-Born and Only-Begotten, that, in Holy Scripture, Priesthood, *i.e.* Conveyance of Blessing *from* God (including in this the handing on of the true knowledge of God) and Leadership of Worship *to* God, are, especially in the earlier dispensations, so closely connected with Sonship, and especially with Eldest Sonship.

The Eternal Son is, as towards the Father, the Head of God's great Family, and so its Eternal Everliving Priest, 'cui nihil viget simile aut secundum.'

So, Biblically, Primogeniture and Priesthood are identical; or rather perhaps Primogeniture, or Eldership, includes Priesthood as one of its duties and functions. So far from the truth is any antagonism between *Priest* and *Presbyter*; while any elevation of Priest above Presbyter is farther still, the true relation being really the other way. Noah, as he stepped from the Ark on the newly discovered earth, was the Priest, who should offer the Thanksgiving Sacrifice, simply because he was the Elder, the Head of the Family.

The election of the Israelites, above all the nations of the earth, to be the privileged depositaries of God's truth, and the offerers to Him of a true worship, constituted them collectively God's 'Son, even his first-born' (Exod. iv. 22), and 'a kingdom of priests, an holy nation' (Exod. xix. 6.) This they were relatively to other nations, yet without any prejudice to a special official executive priesthood within their own body.

The distinction between the common lay Priesthood which belongs to all, and the special official Priesthood, arises necessarily from the distinction between private, or household, acts of worship, and public, *i.e.* corporate or ecclesiastical acts. For the first, the individual has both the duty and the right; for the second, the head of the family; for the third, the Ordained Priest, who is at once the representative of men to God, and of God to men.

When the Patriarchal system was to be merged in the fuller and more elaborate national worship inaugurated by Moses, the avowed substitution of the tribe of Levi for the first-born was exactly an exception which proved the rule (Numb. iii. 11; viii. 16). Yet God's inalienable claim on the dedication of the first-born was still continuously witnessed to by the necessity of ransom. (Exod. xiii. 11; Numb. iii. 44.)

The Church of God, in all its stages, the Chosen Family, the Chosen Nation, the Catholic Church, has ever been of the nature of a Body. In it, as in other bodies, growth and development means increasing complexity, marked by evolution of separate organs for separate functions, in place of the simpler discharge of several functions by single organs. Hence the dissociation of Priesthood from Eldership, and, later, the separate development of the Prophetic Order. The purpose of this dissociation was the more complete and detailed setting-forth, by the distinct and separate exhibition of its several functions, of the invisible spiritual Priesthood of

Him who is the One true Priest and Mediator (even under the Old Covenant) between God and Man. The Aaronic Priesthood, and, indeed, the whole Levitical system, was the earthly 'copy' (*ὑπόδειγμα*) of a heavenly 'pattern,' shewed to Moses in the Mount. It was a gigantic 'parable' (Heb. ix. 9), designed especially to set forth the Priesthood of Christ in its atoning aspect, as the Melchizedechian Priesthood set it forth in its more general and eucharistic aspect.

In the Christian Covenant, the teaching, worship-leading, and ruling functions, the three constituent elements of Priesthood, were visibly re-combined and fully and supremely manifested for a fresh point of departure, in the Incarnate Son. He Who all along had ever been, in inner spiritual reality, the unseen Prophet, Priest, and King, was now revealed as holding these relations not merely (as we may so say) in the natural sense for the whole created universe, but also—still higher marvel—in the world of grace, as the Redeemer, by suffering, of a ruined race, Who should offer in man's nature, and for man, not only the sacrifices of worthy praise and thanksgiving, and of a perfect self-dedicating obedience to the Father of all, but also the further sacrifice of a mysterious atonement for sin.

This He did as the Head of our race, whose flesh was (and is) His Priestly Vesture 'fearfully and wonderfully made,' that, in especial relation to man, He might be, by His death and Resurrection, the 'Firstborn among many brethren,' 'the Firstborn from the dead.'

Save His, there is, and can be, no Priesthood in Heaven or on earth, in that true invisible reality of things which faith discerns. Yet for us on earth, under the conditions of sight and sense, there must be of necessity, and there is, provision made for the visible exercise and exhibition of Christ's one and only priesthood. This necessity arises from the removal of His bodily presence by the Ascension. How was it met? By the delegation of His powers (so far as was needed for the continued carrying on of His great redemptive work on earth) to His body mystical, the collective, corporate Church. Much confusion and misconception, on more sides than one, arise from the very common failure to observe that the incidents described in Luke xxiv. 33-49, and in John xx. 19-23, belong to the same occasion. It is highly important to remember that the great words of Christ on the first Easter evening, 'As my Father has sent me, even so send I you;' accompanied by the sacramental outward and visible sign of breathing on them, and the commission 'Receive ye the Holy

Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit,' &c., were addressed not to the Eleven alone, but to the 'disciples' (John xx. 19 and 20), 'the disciples and them that were with them;' (Luke xxiv. 33)—*i.e.* to the whole band of faithful believers then in Jerusalem. The body addressed was the same as that described in Acts i. 13-15, which elected the Apostle Matthias. We may think of it, at this stage, as the Church conceived and quickened, and shortly to be fully born at Pentecost.

The Church, *i.e.* the whole body of the Baptized, is the sole adequate agent and representative by delegation of Christ on earth. The Papal theory goes near to being the exact inversion of this magnificent and fertile truth; and must, like other attempts to make a pyramid stand on its apex, inevitably topple over.

But again it is highly important to remember, that underneath this delegation of the Body by the Head lies the deeper truth of the indissoluble vital union between the Body and the Head, and their animation by one and the same Spirit. Christ and His Church are one. Their life and action are one. By this living union, the bonds of which are Faith and Sacraments, the Church Collective is, in a far higher sense than was the Israel of old, 'a kingdom of priests, an holy nation,' a family of accepted sons, a 'Church of the First-born.' These phrases describe the common dignity of each and all, as compared with non-Christian humanity, between whom and the merest babe 'in Christ,' there is a far wider gap of spiritual privilege than any that can be conceived between the lay people and the official priesthood within the Church. By the gift of His Spirit at Pentecost, Christ substituted, for His former bodily, and therefore necessarily limited and local Presence, a spiritual Presence, whereby He is with His Church 'all the days,' of sunshine or of storm, even to the close of the dispensation. By this presence He acts in her, on her, and through her, in the true invisible reality which faith discerns; and this *directly*, as we may say. To the eye of sense His action is visibly manifested and made operative *by delegation*.

Let us study this, for fuller observation, in respect of acts of Worship, with which, more especially, we connect the priestly idea. The Prophetic, *i.e.* Teaching function as now exercised by the Church, might also usefully be analysed; and it is of no small importance in these days to remember, that that also can only, in its highest functions, be safely and authoritatively exercised by the Church Corporate, assembled, of course, by representation. The Ruling, kingly function

(which is the third and completing element of Firstborn Eldership) is only dimly discernible in the Church in its present imperfect state. For that the Church and the world alike wait, as indeed for the full and adequate manifestation of the other functions also, until the future 'manifestation of the Sons of God.'

Christian Worship then consists of two main elements, the giving *to* God, the receiving *from* God ; and (ridding ourselves, at once and for ever, of all the grosser ideas once connected with the word *sacrifice*, but since the Last Supper, and the Cross, shaken off for ever) the former element is essentially *sacrificial*, i.e. of the nature of an offering ; the latter is largely *sacramental*. The former (which is fully and particularly exhibited in the Christian Liturgy) includes the offering of praise and thanksgiving, the offering of our substance in our alms, the offering of the necessary food of man in the oblation of the unconsecrated elements of Bread and Wine to the Giver of our daily bread, and also the offering of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies,' and this in public worship, collectively, as the redeemed Body of Christ, as well as individually. All these features of sacrificial worship had been needful (we may truly say) in the worship of man, had the Tempter never entered Paradise. For they are simply the obligatory acknowledgment on the part of the creature, that all it is, and all it has, is from God, is God's, and must be rendered back to God in entire, unreserved surrender and self-dedication.

This is the root-idea of Sacrifice ; and that independently of, and prior to, any further superadded necessity for expiatory Sacrifice, to which alone it has been too much the prevailing usage to restrict the expression 'Sacrifice,' to the great obscuration of the true conception of Sacrifice and Priesthood, and the unhappy production of much needless controversial heat. But we must come into the Divine Presence as sinners, albeit redeemed and forgiven. We therefore, ere we can hope for acceptance, must plead something by way of atonement. And this we do in the continual presentation before the Father of the once-offered and never-to-be-repeated Sacrifice of His Son. In the spiritual mystery of the Eucharist we make repeatedly before God the continual Memorial of that one sufficient Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, which itself can be repeated never. And in the faith of that Sacrifice, as the sure ground of our acceptance, we offer the remaining part of our Sacrificial Worship, viz. : Prayer for the satisfaction of our needs.

Turning next to the consideration of the Minister (λει-

τουργός) or offerer, of worship, Christian Worship, though not in its Eucharistic completeness (which is essentially the act of the Body as such, and of nothing less) may be offered, *mutatis mutandis*, by the individual for himself, on the basis of his common Priesthood, *i.e.*, of accepted Sonship; or by the Head of the Family, for the Family. Yet, in this latter case, the surrender of the dignity for the moment to an ordained Priest, if present, may be a graceful acknowledgment, that in the Christian Church the ties of grace are ever dearer and higher than the ties of flesh, and that the highest aspect of the Christian Family is its aspect as a fraction of the Church.

But to the right conception of worship, whether as offered by the individual, the household, or the Church Corporate, it is essential that we remember that it is offered always and only through the mediation of the Divine Son, as its real, though invisible, presenter. He, the 'High Priest who is set on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens,' is the one 'Minister of the Sanctuary (τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργός) and of the tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man' (Heb. viii. 2). It is only as in Christ by living membership that the individual worships acceptably.

The acceptance of the collective worship of the 'two or three,' or more, is guaranteed by their being 'gathered together in Christ's name,' and by the consequent presence among them of Christ Himself, not as the acceptor (as this text is sometimes misunderstood), but as the presenter of their worship, whose visible and audible mouthpiece and representative, the conductor of their worship is, by delegation.

Christ, in His Eternal and Divine nature one inseparably with the Father and the Spirit, and, since the Incarnation, inseparably one with us, is, of course, the object of our worship. But, for the present, we are considering Him in His mediatorial function, as standing at the head of God's whole created universe of angels and of men. By a double title, in the order of nature and in the order of grace, Christ is the Head of the Christian body, which worships through the Incarnate Son, Who, as our Great High Priest, 'ever liveth to make intercession for us' in the true sanctuary above, the very inmost centre of God's whole universe, the very seat of God's fullest manifestation, and defined to be so by the presence there of Christ's glorified and spiritual body, amid the inaccessible light wherein God dwells.

The visible Priesthood of those that are called official priests on earth is but the practically needful and orderly executive, whereby, as by special organs, of and belonging to

the body, and in no wise to be thought of as separate or separable from it, the body performs to God-ward, vicariously and representatively, through its *persona* in each lawful congregation, its constant duty of worship. Or, in another distinct yet inseparable aspect, *i.e.* as towards man, the Christian minister visibly represents and acts for the one true Invisible Priest, whose mouthpiece, in the very humblest and merely instrumental sense, he is, and through whose immaculate hands our feeble and unworthy offerings of praise and prayer, made sweet by the incense of His perfect offering of Himself, are acceptably presented to the Father.

The humblest form of the public earthly exhibition of this high and heavenly reality, the Eternal Priesthood of Christ, is yet so sacred a thing, so high an honour, that none may take it unto himself.

And, to give merely a practical reason, which were quite sufficient, orderly church life could never exist without this duly commissioned and delegated executive. The Church of Christ is not a rope of sand, an accidental aggregation of individual atoms. It is a highly developed and complex body, with special organs for special functions; organs whose evolution by successive stages, as occasion arose, dates from the first in-breathing into the Church of His own life-giving Spirit from the lips of the Second Adam on the Day of His Resurrection. Their nature and origin is simple matter of historic fact, the first beginning of whose record is to be sought in the Acts and in the rest of the New Testament.

The official acts of the Christian Priesthood are then at once (and it is highly important to remember this double aspect of them) *the acts of the whole Body*, which in one sense empowers and authorizes them, and also, viewed from another side, *the acts of Christ*, so far as they are done 'in His name,' *i.e.* within the true limits of 'His commission and authority,' and in and by His Spirit, whose co-operating agency can alone give them any efficacy in the world of spiritual realities.

In teaching and in ruling, as well as in leading worship, this twofold characteristic is observable. In every act he does, in the way of official duty, the Christian Priest at once '*gerit personam Christi*' and '*gerit personam Ecclesiæ*.' On this latter truth rests the share of the Church as a Body in the work of Ordination, which is witnessed to by the solemn public appeal of the *Si quis*, twice repeated, *viz.*: some time before Ordination, and again in the course of the Ordination Service itself. Full knowledge and consent, if not (ideally speaking) election, on the part of the Church, of those who

are to be her Office-bearers, is necessary to the full regularity and validity of their Holy Orders. It is for this reason that the Church so distinctly commands that Holy Orders shall be conferred 'in the face of the Church' (*Preface to the Ordinal*) and at the well-known sacred seasons (*Canon XXXI.*), that all may be aware of what is being done. The same principle also is embodied in the maxim '*Nemo detur invitis.*'

It is with the same meaning, namely, to mark the share and interest which the Church at large has in the conferring of Holy Orders, that the following noticeable provisions are made in our Ordination Services:—

1. The Bishop shall put the questions to them that are to be ordered Deacons 'in the presence of the people.'

2. The solemn address to the candidates for Priesthood ends thus, 'And now that this present congregation of Christ here assembled may also understand your minds and wills in these things . . . ye shall answer plainly to these things, which we, in the name of God *and of His Church*, shall demand of you.'

3. Similarly, in the Consecration of Bishops, the Archbishop addresses the candidate thus: 'Before I admit you to this Administration, I will examine you in certain Articles, to the end that the congregation present may have a trial, and bear witness, how you be minded to behave yourself in the Church of God.'

4. More significantly still the ordaining Bishop commends the candidates for Priesthood to the silent prayers of the congregation, and the solemn Invocation of the *Veni Creator* is, in the Ordination of Priests, and in the Consecration of Bishops, directed to be sung, not only by the Bishop, but by the Priests 'and others that are present,' as the act of the whole Church gathered together in Christ's Name, for the exercise of one of its most solemn functions.

Exactly parallel to this in our Baptismal Offices, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, 'Give Thy Holy Spirit to this Infant, [or to these persons] that he may be born again,' &c., occurs in the part of the service appointed to be said by the congregation with the Minister.

On the other hand, consent or election by the body of the Church would not of itself confer Holy Orders. There must be the call from above, the call from God, and that both inward and outward. There must be the inward moving by the Holy Ghost, and the external bestowal, through the laying on of hands, of the special gifts of the Holy Ghost, 'for the office and work of a Priest, or a Bishop, in the Church of

God.' Though they are organs of that body, livingly connected with and belonging to the body, and acting with the life of the body, yet it is 'God hath set them in the Church' (1 Cor. xii. 28), and 'no man taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God,' so that 'even Christ glorified not Himself to be made an High Priest, but He that said unto Him, Thou art my Son; to-day have I begotten Thee.' (Heb. v. 4, 5.) Very remarkable is it how frequently in His discourses in St. John our Lord declares that He came 'not of Himself,' nor in His own Name, but was sent by the Father. It is in view of this that the writer to the Hebrews invites us to consider 'the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus.'

The conjunction of the two elements in the Ministerial commission is curiously witnessed to by the narrative, in the Acts of the Apostles, of the typical case of the original institution of the Diaconate; though it might be said with truth that the occasion which gave rise to it, and the nature of its duties, would account for a special prominence being given to the popular element 'Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, &c. . . . whom they set before the Apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.'

It may probably be said with truth that the difficulties and objections as to the theory and practice of the Christian Priesthood which have led to the use of the word 'Sacerdotalism' as a term of reproach and contempt, are simply due, as in so many other instances, to misunderstanding. But it is also as probably true, that much of current misunderstanding and dislike, at least among professedly Christian believers, is due to misstatement or at least partial and inadequate statement, of the theory, not unaccompanied by parallel perversion in practice, on the part of one-sided advocates. In the eager assertion of the solemn validity and authoritativeness of the official ministerial commission, as from God towards man, the fact of its merely vicarious, representative, and delegated relation to the Supreme, unique and original Priesthood of Christ may not have been sufficiently kept in view. And even when that relation has been candidly stated and earnestly insisted on, the balancing and complementary truth of the relation of the minister to the Church collective as an organ in and of the body, and acting *from* and *for*, as well as *towards*, the body, may have been overlooked. And the

result of this omission will have been the creation, or favouring, of an idea that the Priesthood insisted upon is a thing altogether over and apart from the body. Romanism, with its enforced celibacy and caste-priesthood, has been, practically, much more chargeable with this omission than with the former; and has thus, it is needless to say, most seriously hindered the reception of the doctrine of the Christian Priesthood, and prevented men's seeing its full dignity and meaning. The effective energy of the Church, as a body made up of Priests and people in closest organic connection, has consequently been very seriously impaired by the attitude of suspicious and jealous defence taken up by the less instructed among the laity. The only effectual and permanent remedy for these evils, and for the manifold practical mischiefs resulting from them, lies in the diffusion, among clergy and laity alike, of a sounder and more thorough conception and grasp, theoretically, of the true fundamental idea of Priesthood. This paper, necessarily confined within very brief limits, is humbly offered as a small contribution towards this very desirable object.

Since the above was written Canon Lightfoot's volume on the Epistle to the Colossians has been published. We feel truly thankful for the emphasis with which, in some most valuable passages, the learned Professor insists on the great truth of the 'creative and administrative work of Christ the Word in the natural order of things . . His mediatorial function in the world,' as well as 'in the Church;' and reminds his readers that

'The language of the New Testament is beset with difficulties, so long as we conceive of our Lord only in connection with the Gospel revelation; but, when with the Apostles we realize in Him the same Divine Lord Who is and ever has been the light of the whole world, Who before Christianity wrought first in mankind at large through the avenues of the conscience, and afterwards more particularly in the Jews through a special though still imperfect revelation, then all these difficulties fall away. Then we understand the significance, and we recognize the truth, of such passages as these—"No man cometh unto the Father, but by Me." "There is no salvation in any other." "He that disbelieveth the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." The exclusive claims advanced in Christ's name have their full and perfect justification in the doctrine of the Eternal Word.'

ART. VII.—THE ARTS, CONSIDERED AS TIDE-MARKS OF HISTORY.

'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from' above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights.'

THE question, which of the older races of men attained to the greatest height in thought, and art, and life, and to which we owe the most of truth and sweetness and light, has been continually coming up to the surface throughout the present renaissance of historical research, and it is being continually settled afresh and in different ways by different writers, and that in rather positive modes, by large conclusions and narrow generalizations. We are continually being instructed that all ancient creeds stand on one common level as to authority, and to historical value: that the revelation made in the Old Testament, or, as some prefer calling it, the religion of the Jews, was in no sense more from God than the religions of Brahma or Zoroaster; that it had even less of divine power over men than these. We constantly learn that Greek faith was absolutely on a level with it—was far higher in itself, and as a preparation for the fuller light of Christ; and then another teacher will show us, that Greek thought is on a level with Christian thought in truth; or that it is as a school for the intellectual and artistic side of men's life and nature, what Christianity is for the moral emotions; that it is even a much higher school; or that each (especially Christianity) must be kept to its own half of man, the one forbidden to rule our moral actions, the other to guide intellectual effort or inspire true art.

Tossed about by these conflicting dogmas, it has seemed to us that if we take the fine arts as our measure, and compare the arts and dramas and songs of each faith and race together, we may possibly find they afford us a more certain standard than we can get from the ever-changing aspects of thought driven hither and thither in vague seas of words; and liable, so far as this question of standard is concerned, to be vitiated, by reason of our seeing them only through the subsequent light of Christian truth and Christian morality.

To see how, in the arts bequeathed to us by successive races of men, we have real, though not complete flood-marks of the comparative heights of thought and feeling, to which

those nations rose, we must glance back to the origin of the arts. These, if we are not mistaken, are found to have sprung up amongst every nation so far civilized as to have satisfied the first necessities of life and gained any leisure for reflection. Nearly every such race has had its poetical myths—'those splendid flowers,' as Mr. Symonds calls them, 'expressing in form and colour to the mental eye the thoughts and aspirations of whole races;' has had its architecture, its sculpture, its painting and music, or its dramas. And we find also that everywhere these arts have been exercised primarily and chiefly in the representation of their religious faith, or to add dignity to their worship. The myths relate the doings of their Gods; the best architecture of men of all races is, we believe, without exception, to be found in their temples. Their most elaborate carvings and noblest sculptures have striven to represent their gods or to symbolize the divine attributes; and their most enduring poetry has been religious hymns.

Looking further into these early works of art, we find a second characteristic. Beside and together with their notions of the Deity, we see forcibly expressed their own aspirations, vague perhaps, but obviously powerful, towards a better, a happier, a more glorious and satisfactory life than men live on earth; we see their yearning for something unseen, enduring, perfect.

'The type of perfect in their mind, in nature they could nowhere find;' but by thus visibly embodying in sculptured stone or on pictured walls, or in sacred songs and dramas, their ideas of God and of that Godlike human life for which they yearned, they sought to grasp the dim notions and aspirations continually floating before them, and as constantly eluding them and fading away before the hard or sordid physical necessities of their lives; they sought to fix them for themselves, and to hand them on to their children, as records of the Deity they were to worship, and of the perfection to which they might aspire.

If this be the true account of the matter, it will follow that art is the offspring of man's religious nature: wishing to use our words with as much distinctness as we can, we will not say of his spiritual life, for it was the struggle to rise to something truer and more satisfactory than the physical, intellectual, and moral life they already enjoyed, which drove men to art as an aid, and then for a time, as a consolation under failure. But still the root of all art, as of all religions, is this, that nothing short of union with God can satisfy any human soul. As Professor Maurice said, 'the longing for the manifestation

of God is the mystery, which lies beneath the history of the ancient world and interprets it; and so it lies beneath its art. There were in fine two questions lying at the root of all their creeds, the answers to which their artists and poets strove to give: 'Can men rise up to God?' was the first; failing that, came the second, 'Will God come down to men?' Accordingly, it is in their works of art that we find the most certain record of the highest ideas they could form at once of Divine perfection and human happiness; and by comparing the arts of one race with those of another, we may in some sort estimate the relative height of their conceptions, and the comparative value of the ideas they have to give us.

In making this comparison, it is obvious, that of the two factors present in all art, the idea or conception embodied, and the execution, it is the first which we must mainly consider. The comparative excellence of the execution would tell us much about the comparative culture of the races and the skill of the artists; but it would tell us little of the thoughts and wishes of the men themselves. A very noble idea may be found with rude execution, just as we very often find very great skill of execution thrown away in expressing mean or coarse ideas, or even destitute of any thought whatever. To be art at all, for our present purpose, the thought expressed must have some reality; to be high art, it must be ideal. To be the highest art, it must, amongst other qualities, have that of being the most suggestive of the noblest, truest, and purest thoughts; on every side it touches, its spirit must be *excelsior*.

It would be impossible in the short space of a single article to enter seriously on so wide a subject; the most we can hope to do is to suggest, by a few examples, the way in which it might be worked out at large. We will begin with the Assyrian sculptures, which, judged from this point of view, naturally come first, as lowest of all. The animal forms they delighted in are marked for strength of talons, or swiftness of flight: cruel eagle heads, huge winged bulls, impassive, yet with a kind of majestic strength and stupidity; 'fierce Assyrian countenances, with keen, murderous eagle eyes; animal, king, and god, all presented in the same form, giving forth their conception of the powers that ruled over them, letting us into the secret of what they and their people would wish to be.'¹ For here we see their kings in the circumstances that appeared to these Assyrians the most glorious; seated on thrones, while long lines of chained captives are being driven up to them with whips; or else, as bound, but headless

¹ Professor Maurice: *Religions of the World*.

figures, are still kneeling before them. Divine and human nature, as they interpreted them, were akin to that 'nature red in tooth and claw,' which shrieks against the law of light and love. All their sculptures deify physical force; all hold up slaughter and savage victory, more savagely used, as the delight of the gods, and the chief glory set before kings.

We saw lately an engraving from a Grecian bas-relief, exquisitely simple and graceful in its clear outlines, representing a solemn celebration of the conquest of Troy. The three Grecian chiefs are slaughtering Trojan captive youths. Each prisoner is slight in figure, young in face; each has a great gashed wound, from which the blood is spouting; each has been stripped, and has his hands tied behind him, denoting his utter helplessness. Agamemnon's captive has already been thrown into a hollow in the ground, in which he is made to sit up, whilst the king is gravely and calmly cutting his throat. The other chiefs are watching him, each having one hand on the shoulder of a captive, the other holding the sword with which he is about to be butchered. There is a similar scene described in the play of *Hecuba*—the sacrifice of Polyxena, in honour of the dead Achilles. Very superior in the perfect drawing of the sculptured group, in the artistic drawing of the dramatic one, to those rude carvings from Nineveh, the thought expressed is no nobler, whilst the beauty of the representation makes them but the more deliberately cold-blooded. In the gallery of Roman sculpture at the Louvre, we find a treatment of the conquered very different from these. Instead of calling on us to witness the triumph of Rome in the slaughter of weak and naked striplings, or lovely girls, her 'Barbarian Captives' are sculptured as stately stalwart men of middle age, and gigantic strength. Mighty men of valour, their faces worn and furrowed with the hardships of their past and the griefs of their present lives, with long wild hair and rough beards, their heads bowed in grief, their heavy mantles folded about them from head to foot, no indignity has been put upon them. They inspire reverence and even awe, as well as compassion. Perhaps the finest of these is a group of four gigantesque figures, who bear on their shoulders a massy cornice, intended to be surmounted by a statue of Domitian. The date of this must, therefore, have been about A.D. 90.

Different as they are, yet, in the immoveable calmness of the winged Assyrian bulls, we find some link to the arts that come next before us, those of Egypt and of India. In the Egyptian sphinxes the ideal aimed at seems to be that of

complete and eternal repose. Living, calm, majestic, imperturbable, above the reach of passion, of circumstance, of time itself, they watched the ages pass across the level plains of burning Egypt, as free from the tumultuous joys as from the cruel anxieties of mortal life. Such seems to have been their ideal of god-like happiness; whilst their pyramids, at once guarding the remains of the dead, and pointing to the skies, seem to say, 'Not here, but there is rest; we wait.' The Hindoo gods of the South share this character. The countenance of Vishnu, asleep on the lotus leaf, or on the many-headed serpent of Eternity, is, we are told by those acquainted with Indian sculpture, an almost perfect realization of ideal rest. Those of the North have striven for more of the life and beauty of Grecian art, but all seem to place perfection in calm. All teach men to seek in the annihilation of all emotions and in absorption into the unmoved deity, the remedy for all the evils of life, and all the sinful weaknesses of men.¹ This, too, is the root idea of Buddhism, as Maurice tells us. 'Rest is not so much the attribute of Buddha as his essence;' and in silence and contemplation men may at last be absorbed into Rest.

There was, therefore, an *excelsior* in these arts, but it was not the *excelsior* of life—not, therefore, truly of men. We know of no passage of Greek art intended to express this idea of perfect rest. Many of their gods are very calm, but it is a calm of quite another kind. Good judges, we believe, consider the figure of the Dancing Faun at Naples to convey the expression of perfect satisfaction, but it is the satisfaction of active joy, of young vigorous life, absolutely content in the perfect rhythm of its own health and beauty. And Roman sculpture expresses the stern and strong calm of endurance, not the perfect rest of satisfied contemplation. The Hebrew prophets and singers held forth the promise of 'peace—great peace, as the work of righteousness, with quietness and assurance for ever;' a less chilling peace than that of the Buddhists, and yet containing that element of rest 'in sure dwellings and in quiet resting-places,' which is nearly always missing in Greek art; for, perhaps, the Farnese Hercules, with its aspect of touching and unsatisfied melancholy, is hardly to be counted an exception. There is one sculp-

¹ Compare Aristotle, *Eth. Nicomach.* lib. ii. cap. iii. section 5. Though Aristotle would evidently regard this teaching as an excess, the philosophy of the Cynics and others, as Democritus, tended in this direction, when they declared the virtues to be ἀμαθείας τῶν καὶ ἡμετέρας. See Sir Alex. Grant's note on the passage.

tured group of Christian art, which, combining together both these ideas of consummated victory and of absolute peace, may serve as our contrast with the arts of which we have been speaking. But it is impossible adequately to describe it, for the thoughts those figures breathe are for silence, not for words; nor could any drawing convey the lessons one's inmost spirit learns on the roof of Milan Cathedral. As you walk along those white marble terraces, mounting ever higher, you see below you the rich level plains of Lombardy, teeming with villages, and churches, and cities, with their long busy white roads, with fields and groves and glistening rivers stretching far away and on into the distance; until at last the dark purple of the horizon lies sharp against the clear circling blue of the sky, and the world seems ended, a perfect circle everywhere, except to the north, for there a veil of white mist conceals it, and far above that mist the snowy summits of alps upon alps hang, in their glittering majesty, high up against the sky. Not less silent and unchanging stand the victorious saints, in white and glistening raiment, on countless pinnacles, on every side, above, below, and around you. Some of them are leaning on the spear, or sword, or cross, by which they died; others bear the palm-branch, which marks them as conquerors. Even without these tokens, and without the angel figures which bear them company, their countenances alone would tell you they are conquerors—conquerors over doubt and sin, over sorrow and pain, and death, over themselves; their whole being is satisfied, all the stains and the weariness of their warfare are past and over; they rest as those may rest, who have heard the words, 'Well done, good and faithful servants.' They rest, and yet they watch, as men that wait for their Lord; without a shadow of impatience, without a shadow of doubt, with all the certainty of those who know in whom they have trusted. You turn again to the towering alps, and by the side of that steadfast strength, that deep peace, that immoveable faith, even the mountain peaks seem to you weak and unstable.

The execution of some amongst these statues is very unequal: but the idea, the truth sought to be expressed, is unmistakeable.

We must, however, now go back for many centuries.

In Greek art, as in those ruder and earlier arts, it is the gods and the godlike with which the artist is chiefly employed, but his ideal is different, and more complex. It is no longer repose, but life; no longer the dreamy content of passive contemplation, but the active joy of beauty, of vigour,

and of freedom, in every variety of mode possible to humanity. One can imagine Greek art turning away, wearied and unsatisfied, from the calm of her elder Egyptian sister, with the passionate cry—

'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant,
More life, and better, that I want.'

The first-fruits of this changed ideal we may note in the wider compass and rich variety of Greek art; for repose is one, and life is manifold and many-sided. And here we find life, passionate, beautiful, triumphant in its gods, conquered, struggling, conquering, but still always beautiful in its heroes; with its various interpretations of the Divine government that directs the course of life, and of the meanings of life and death; with its dark hints of a supreme Nemesis ever in the background, with its vague guesses at the shadow-life beyond. Instead of imaging humanity rising to Divinity with the loss of half its nature, the Greeks delighted to exhibit it as already half divine, by clothing their divinities with human forms and enduing them with human passions. They peopled the woods, and hills, and rivers, with nymphs and demigods lovely as nature and wilful as Undines, and so they took from nature her steadfast order, took from her all symbolism of a Creator's love, left her full of lovely, lawless, wanton life. They peopled Olympus with personal Deities, possessed of human natures and of Divine powers, governing the world mainly in the interests of truth and justice, but not governing their own passions; sustaining a Kosmos into which they themselves were continually bringing a moral chaos. In going to their poets and dramatists to see what account they gave of the Deity, and how they fulfilled their mission of interpreting the ways of God to men, we can compare the Greek interpretation with that given by the seers and poets of an almost contemporary race, a race to them barbarians, to us the God-instructed Israelites. But we would ask our readers, in making this comparison, to lay aside for the moment all thought of a higher revelation in the Hebrew singers, and to look at them from the same standing point, as though equally inspired or equally human; and so to judge, which of these two races, the cultured Greek or the ruder Hebrew, has left us the highest tidemark or taught us the most ennobling truths.

In describing Phidias' glorious statue of Zeus, 'the supreme God of the Aryan race' (?), 'the purest deity of the Greek cultus,' Macrobius tells us that the sculptor declared

that in designing it he had in mind those lines of Homer, which describe Zeus nodding his ambrosial locks and shaking Olympus. Without some such high authority as Phidias, we might hardly perhaps have ventured to assume, that this celebrated passage is to be considered as one of the grandest descriptions of their supreme God to be found among their poets. As many will remember, it runs thus: 'The silver-footed queen, the goddess Thetis,' has come to Olympus to pray Zeus to avenge her son Achilles on the Grecian host: at first he is silent, and she renews her prayer:

'Then much disturbed the cloud-compeller spoke.'

She is, he says, making sad work between him and his wife, who taunts him quite often enough as it is: nevertheless, only desiring her to get away without letting Hêrê catch sight of her, he grants her prayer and says:

'To confirm thy faith I nod my head,
For ne'er my promise shall deceive or fail
Or be recalled, if with a nod confirmed.
He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows;
Waved on the immortal head the ambrosial locks,
And all Olympus trembled at his nod.'

Or, as Pope has it, perhaps for once more nobly—

'High heaven with trembling the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the centre shook.'

The Israelitish singers had expressed this thought of God's power and truth differently:

'Let all the earth fear the Lord,
Stand in awe of Him all ye that dwell in the earth;
For He spake,—it was done; He commanded,—it stood fast.'

And again the seer, for whom Balak sent his princes:

'God is not a man that He should lie, neither the son of man that He should repent: Hath He said and shall He not do it? or, hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good?'

Homer indeed had no scruple in making Zeus himself ridiculous in his relations to his august and very disagreeable spouse. And his other Gods and Goddesses he uses rather as the foil and occasions of his heroes than as examples which it would be good for men and women to follow. Indeed the contrast between the brave and earnest struggles of his heroes in the midst of their mortal weakness, and snared as they are

in the toils of fate, with the whimsical likes and dislikes of the Gods in their wanton and remorseless, and even at moments cowardly, exercise of their immortal strength, forms one of the most pathetic elements of the *Iliad*: whilst their quarrels, of the Goddesses especially, with each other, come in as playful and almost at times comic episodes, relieving the too great strain of the serious human tragedy.

But going down the river of time for some—shall we say?—seven hundred years more, in Æschylus we find so very different a conception of the inhabitants of Olympus, that little but the names appear at first sight to remain the same. Supreme and just administrator of eternal law, Zeus,—no longer kept awake at night by thinking how he may defeat his consort's schemes and make his own wishes prevail,—is depicted as preserving the universe, and specially society, from chaos, and making all things stable by unswerving justice: He is recognized with awe and reverence, but abiding in the background He does not appear: the lesser Gods who are seen, profess to be the ministers of his decrees and the teachers of his will.

Miss Swanwick attributes this change of 'the capricious elemental Zeus of the *Iliad*' into the venerable deity of the *Oresteia*, to the interfusion of Persian elements modifying Greek thought. We feel considerable doubt as to any very cogent evidence on behalf of this view being obtainable. If it could be proved, it would be curious to inquire how far Persian thought had been influenced by the Hebrew prophets, of whom Cyrus knew so much, and whose nation he so greatly favoured.

Evidently, however, we have reached in Æschylus a much higher *tidemark*. It is certainly one of the highest, possibly the very highest, in respect of the conception of God and of His providential rule, which their poetry ever reached, and it was one which they did not long maintain. Miss Swanwick thus collects together the evidence and sums up: 'The grandest ascriptions of omnipotence to the Olympian king,' 'He is invoked,' she rightly says, as 'king of kings, most blessed of the blest, among the perfect power most perfect, Zeus supreme in bliss.' Characterized as 'Mighty Zeus, protector of the great, the Highest, who directs destiny by hoary law.' 'Zeus, Lord of ceaseless time, Almighty ruler of the earth:' and apostrophized as 'the great Artificer, supreme Ruler, who knows no superior, whose deed is prompt as his word to execute the design of his deep-counselling mind.'

We will take one out of the many Hebrew passages that

run parallel to these,—the proclamation of God's name to Moses about 1450. B.C. 'The Jehovah, the Jehovah God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and in truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children unto the third and fourth generation.'

This last sentence brings to mind at once the Nemesis of *Æschylus*; it might, taken by itself, form the motto of the *Oresteia*. It is difficult to give by selected passages full utterance to *Æschylus*' conception of the supreme justice; it is the history, not the speeches of these tragedies, which embody it. We find in them a world founded on and preserved by hoary law, just and righteous; which, if not originating in the will of Zeus, is, at any rate, formulated for mortals in his mind, and administered by his decree. Vengeance awaits every crime, bringing woe, not on the criminal only, but entailing fresh crimes on his race, and even on the place where the crime was perpetrated. Atê, the Eumenides, fate, execute this law of vengeance with a blind and relentless fury:—

'Slow she tracks him and sure, as a lyme-hound sudden she grips him,
Crushing him, blind in his pride, for a sign and a terror for mortals.'

But Phœbus, under his title of Loxias the king, administers the decrees of Zeus with intelligent discrimination; for the higher justice of Zeus has the attribute of mercy also, as all true justice must have; and thus

'Against their will
Rebellious men are tutored to be wise;
A grace, I ween, of the divinities
Who, from their holy seats, mankind arraign.'

So we find Loxias interposing to rescue Orestes from the Furies, on the ground that in the murder of his mother he has obeyed the higher law, avenging his father in compliance with the express command of the God.

Very different, and yet not unfrequently coincident, is the conception of the relation between affliction and sin, between God and man, given us in the grand dramatic poem of *Job*. The notion that the evils which befall men are tokens of the Divine vengeance for their own or for ancestral crimes, is the very notion contended against throughout and finally refuted.¹

¹ Even if we adopted—which we are by no means prepared to do—the view of those who regard the speeches of Elihu as of a later date than

Here misery, sickness, death itself are evils which come from without, from the accusing foe, who seeks by these outward afflictions to destroy the faith of God's servants and overcome their obedience. Here Jehovah himself permits the trial, watches over it, causes it to turn to good instead of evil, so that the fiery persecution, through which Job passes, results not only in his securer happiness, but in placing him in a far higher condition, morally and intellectually, than that in which at first we find him.

The *Oresteia* ends by Pallas, as ruler of Athens, substituting for the old rude law of the blood-avenger—answering to the government of the Eumenides—the administration of justice by the high court of the Areopagus, which is to copy in its decrees that higher justice, of which she and Loxias have just given the example,—

‘This court august, untouched by bribes,
Sharp to avenge, wakeful for those that sleep,
Establish I a bulwark to these lands.’

The whole of this passage reminds us forcibly of the similar substitution made for the blood-avenger, by the provision of cities of refuge and public trial at their gates, in the Mosaic law; but this lies beyond our present purpose. The blessing bestowed by Pallas on Athens, too long to quote, may be compared with the blessing decreed for Zion in Isaiah xxv. 8.

But whatever be the agency by which the world's government is carried on, the whole is referred absolutely to the will of Zeus. Thus the chorus laments—

‘Alas, ill-omened praise of Fate,
Baneful and still unsatisfied,
Alas, 'tis Zeus in will, in deed,
Sole cause, sole fashioner; for say
What comes to mortals undecreed
By Zeus, what here that owneth not his sway?
Woe! woe!’

‘I girded thee,’ the Lord had said to Cyrus by Isaiah, ‘I girded thee, though thou hast not known me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil. Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker; let the potsherd strive with the potsherd of the earth.’

Again, when Orestes says—

‘Weighing all, no power I know
Save Zeus, if I aside would throw
This groundless burden of distress;’

the rest of the poem, this would not affect the argument. We simply take the book as it stands in the Jewish canon.

his voice may sound to many like a dim whisper of those tender words?—

“Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,” saith your God,
 “Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem and cry unto her
 That her warfare is accomplished,
 That her iniquity is pardoned,
 For she hath received of the Lord’s hand double for all her sins.”’

Agamemnon says,

‘Zeus with propitious eye
 Beholds the victor’s sway with mercy crowned.’

‘He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the soul require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?’

Or again,

‘I desired mercy, and not sacrifice.’

We have dwelt too long perhaps on Æschylus, but we must find room for two more of his higher notes—

‘An untainted mind
 Is heaven’s best gift;’

and this

‘This the sum of wisdom hear;
 Justice’s altar aye revere,
 Nor ever dare,
 Lusting after worldly gear,
 With atheist foot to spurn; beware,
 Lurketh retribution near.
 But who unforced, with spirit free,
 Dares to be just, is ne’er unblest,
 Whelmed utterly he cannot be.’

‘Unto the upright there ariseth light out of darkness,
 Surely he shall not be moved for ever; the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance;
 He shall not be afraid of evil tidings,
 His heart is fixed, trusting on the Lord.’

Next to Æschylus in point of time, and often at least equal to him in elevation of thought, comes Pindar. From him let us first take—though it is by no means a specimen of his loftiest flights—what Mr. Symonds with justice terms ‘this truly beautiful description of a thoroughly successful life, as imagined by a Greek:’

‘That man is happy and songworthy by the skilled, who, victorious by might of hand or vigour of foot, achieves the greatest prizes with daring and with strength, and who in his lifetime sees his son, while yet a youth, crowned with Pythian wreaths. The brazen

heaven, it is true, is inaccessible to him, but, whatsoever joy we race of mortals taste, he reaches to the furthest voyage.¹

The following out of many is perhaps the most exact Hebrew parallel; the source of the happy life is different, for to the Israelite the heavens were neither brazen nor inaccessible,¹ whilst the welfare of his country was as necessary an element of his happiness as the prosperity of his children:

'Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in His ways,
For thou shalt eat the labour of thy hand; oh! well is thee and
happy shalt thou be:

Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thy house,
Thy children like the olive branches round about the table;
The Lord from out of heaven shall so bless thee, that thou shalt see
Jerusalem in prosperity all thy days long,

Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel.'—
Psalm cxxviii.

The next passage is Pindar's description of the future state of weal. We again adopt Mr. Symonds' translation; he is speaking of those souls of the dead—

'From whom Persephone
Due atonement shall receive
For the things that made to grieve'

in their earthly life; and this is their bliss:

'Shines for them the sun's warm glow
When 'tis darkness here below;
And the ground before their towers,
Meadow land with purple flowers,
Teems with incense-bearing trees,
Teems with fruit of golden sheen;
Some in steed and wrestling feat,
Some in dice take pleasure sweet,
Some in harping——'

And then, after he has described the pains of the guilty souls, we come on these two additional and to us rather incongruous lines,—

'Whilst pious spirits tenanting the sky
Chant praises to the Mighty One on high.'

By way of comparison we will give only two lines from the Psalmist, when, looking on to the future life, he sums up his sure and certain hope:

¹ Neither were they always inaccessible to Pindar, as a subsequent quotation will show. The first Psalm gives another parallel to this passage.

'I shall behold Thy presence in righteousness,
When I awake up after Thy likeness I shall be satisfied.'—Ps. xvii. 16.

Whether Sophocles, the next of the Greek dramatists to Æschylus, sounded so high a note as 'the bright and splendour-loving' Pindar, is a question on which opinions will differ. This is the account of the Divine providence which he puts into the mouth of Philoctetes:

'Never have I known
That the base perish: such the Gods protect,
Delighting from the realms of death to snatch
The crafty and the guileful; but the just
And generous they in ruin always sink:
How for these things shall we account
Or how approve them? When I find the Gods unjust,
How shall I praise their heavenly governance?'

The Hebrew Psalmist had felt the same perplexity some 700 years before, but he had gone deeper than the surface-enigma of life, knowing where to look for light, and humbled by that knowledge.

'My feet were almost gone, my treadings had well nigh slipped:

'And why? I was grieved at the wicked, I do also see the ungodly in such prosperity. For they are in no peril of death, but are lusty and strong.

'They come to no misfortune like other folk, neither are they plagued like other men.

'And I said, Then have I cleansed my heart in vain and washed my hands in innocency.

'For all the day long have I been plagued, and chastened every morning.

'Then thought I to understand this, but it was too hard for me:

'Until I went into the sanctuary of God, then understood I the end of these men.

'. . . . So foolish was I and ignorant, I was even as a beast before Thee.'—Ps. lxxiii. [probably about 1040 B.C.]

This again is the lament of the faithful and noble Antigone, as she is led to death:

'Thus I, unhappy wretch, come living to the caverns of the dead. What righteous law of the Gods have I transgressed? Why must I yet look to the Gods, unhappy that I am? What helper must I summon to my aid? for by righteous dealing I have obtained the reward of unrighteousness.'

Not less passionate is Job's cry, whilst as yet equally certain with Antigone of his own rectitude:

'Surely I would speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God ;
'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.'

The epilogue spoken after the death of Heracles by his son is still more outspoken than Antigone ; they are bearing the body to the funeral pyre :

'Praise him, ye attendants, being sensible of the great injustice of the Gods, who, though they gave him being and are called his parents, can endure to look on these sufferings. The future, indeed, no one can foresee ; but the events now present are lamentable to us and disgraceful to them. . . . And nought is there of these sufferings which is not Zeus.'

The following passage from an unknown Jewish writer, living probably much about the same time as Sophocles, is surely a far truer estimate of death, even in relation to the great and rude Heracles of the tender heart, than that :

'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction. But they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of man, yet is their hope full of immortality ; and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded, for God proved them, and found them worthy for Himself.'—Wisdom iii. 2, &c.

Again Sophocles sums up human life thus :

'Not to have been born is beyond controversy the best ; and when one has seen the light, to return as soon as possible to the place whence he came, is by much the next best lot. For when youth comes bringing thoughtless follies, what troublous woe wanders apart from it ? what woe is not therein ? Murders, factions, strife, wars, and envy : and the last scene is allotted to loathsome old age, impotent, unsociable, unloved, where the worst of ills dwell together.'

Pindar had written more nobly and with a higher faith than this :—

'Brief,' he says, 'is the growing time of joy for mortals, and briefly too doth its flower fall to earth, shaken by fell fate. Things of a day, what are we, and what are we not ? A shadow's dream is man. But when the splendour that God gives descends, then there remains a radiant light and gladsome life for mortals.'¹

This is the Psalmist's view of human life :

'Like as a father pitieth his children,
So the Lord pitieth them that fear him,

¹ Translated by Mr. Symonds : vide *The Greek Poets*.

For He knoweth whereof we are made,
 He remembereth that we are but dust.
 The days of man are but as grass,
 For he flourisheth as a flower of the field,
 For the wind passeth over it and it is gone,
 And the place thereof shall know it no more ;
 But the merciful goodness of the Lord endureth for ever
 and ever,
 And His righteousness upon children's children.'—Ps. ciii.

And instead of the 'loathsome old age, impotent, unso-
 ciable, unloved,' we have this :

'Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterwards receive
 me into glory.

'My flesh and my heart faileth, but Thou art the strength of my
 heart, and my portion for ever.'

Had the Grecian poets been able to speak thus, Plato
 would hardly have desired to banish them from the *Republic*.
 In passing from them we must note how great is the
 similarity of all the human sorrows, perplexities, fears, the
 expressions of which we have been contrasting in Greek and
 Hebrew song ; it is the hope and the faith that are so often
 far asunder. The Greek's faith is vague, beautiful at times,
 but doubtful ; he is as one that beats the air. Whenever the
 problems of life and futurity come before him, he is tossed
 about with every changing mood. He guesses, and knows
 that he is only guessing. The Israelite's faith is fixed, and
 his hope is sure : sorrow or sin, passion or haste, may obscure
 it for a time, but he knows that it is there : he grasps it with
 the firm hold of intellectual intuition, he knows that he is
 standing on the Rock that is higher than he, and that the
 everlasting arms are underneath him, however thick the
 darkness may be about him.

It is difficult indeed to sum up the characteristics of
 Judaism and of Christianity, as distinguished from Hea-
 thenism, more briefly and more beautifully than in the words
 of the lamented Arthur Hallam. Even those who know
 them well—and they are far too little known—will pardon us
 for citing them once more :

'What is the distinguishing character of Hebrew literature,
 which separates it by so broad a line of demarcation from that
 of every ancient people? Undoubtedly the sentiment of *erotic devo-*
tion, which pervades it. Their poets never represent the Deity as an
 impassive principle ; a mere organizing intellect removed at infinite
 distance from human hopes and fears. He is for them a Being of
 like passions with themselves, requiring heart for heart, and capable

of inspiring affection, because capable of feeling and returning it. Awful, indeed, are the thunders of His utterance, and the clouds that surround His dwelling-place; very terrible is the vengeance He executes on the nations that forget Him; but to His chosen people, and especially to the men "after His own heart," whom He anoints from the midst of them, His "still, small voice" speaks in sympathy and loving kindness. Every Hebrew, while his breast glowed with patriotic enthusiasm at those promises, which he shared as one of the favoured race, had a yet deeper source of emotion, from which gushed perpetually the aspirations of prayer and thanksgiving. He might consider himself alone in the presence of his God; the single being to whom a great revelation had been made, and over whose head "an exceeding weight of glory" was suspended. His personal welfare was infinitely concerned with every event that had taken place in the miraculous order of Providence. For him the rocks of Horeb had trembled, and the waters of the Red Sea were parted in their course. The word given on Sinai with such solemn pomp of ministration, was given to his own individual soul, and brought him into immediate communion with his Creator. That awful Being could never be put away from him. He was about his path, and about his feet, and knew all his thoughts long before. Yet this tremendous, enclosing presence, was a presence of love. It was a manifold, everlasting manifestation of one deep feeling—a desire for human affection. Such a belief, while it enlisted even pride and self-interest on the side of piety, had a direct tendency to excite the best passions of our nature. Love is not long asked in vain from generous dispositions. A Being, never absent, but standing beside the life of each man with ever watchful tenderness, and recognized, though invisible, in every blessing that befel them from youth to age, became naturally the object of their warmest affections. Their belief in Him could not exist without producing, as a necessary effect, that profound impression of passionate individual attachment, which, in the Hebrew authors, always mingles with, and vivifies their faith in, the Invisible. All the books in the Old Testament are breathed upon by this breath of life. Especially is it to be found in that beautiful collection, entitled the Psalms of David, which remains, after some thousand years, perhaps the most perfect form in which the religious sentiment of man has been embodied.

'But what is true of Judaism is yet more true of Christianity, "*matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior.*" In addition to all the characters of Hebrew Monotheism, there exists in the doctrine of the Cross a peculiar and inexhaustible treasure for the affectionate feelings. The idea of the Θεάνθρωπος (God-Man), the God whose goings forth have been from everlasting, yet visible to men for their redemption as an earthly temporal creature, living, acting and suffering among themselves, then (which is yet more important) transferring to the unseen place of His spiritual agency the same humanity He wore on earth, so that the lapse of generations can in no way affect the conception of His identity; *this is the most powerful thought that ever addressed itself to a human imagination.* It is the *ποῦ στῶ* which alone was

wanting to move the world. Here was solved at once the great problem, which so long had distressed the teachers of mankind, how to make virtue the object of passion, and to secure at once the warmest enthusiasm in the heart, with the clearest perception of right and wrong in the understanding. The character of the blessed Founder of our faith became an abstract of morality to determine the judgment, while at the same time it remained personal and liable to love. The written Word and established Church prevented a degeneration into ungoverned mysticism, but the predominant principle of vital religion always remained that of self-sacrifice to the Saviour. Not only the higher divisions of moral duties, but the simple, primary impulses of benevolence, were subordinated to this new absorbing passion. The world was loved "in Christ alone." The brethren were members of His mystical body. All the other bonds that had fastened down the Spirit of the Universe to our narrow round of earth were as nothing in comparison to this golden chain of suffering and self-sacrifice, which at once riveted the heart of man to One, who, like himself, was acquainted with grief. Pain is the deepest thing we have in our nature, and union through pain has always seemed more holy and more real than any other.¹

There are two or three other points of divergence which it may be well to note. One is the vast difference of the Greeks' faith amongst themselves, and the almost complete unity of the Hebrews' through these seven centuries. Between the religion of Homer and the faith of Æschylus, nay even between the faith of Æschylus and that of Sophocles, there is a marked divergence. From Moses to Malachi there is hardly any fundamental or real difference.

We mean that the unity of the Godhead, the love of God as the prime duty of man, the conviction of retribution and reward, are taught from first to last. Even if we listen to critics like Mr. Mill, who seem to us inclined to exaggerate whatever amount of difference does exist between the tone of the Mosaic Law and that of the Prophets, it must still be observed, that even *they* admit that this difference is all in favour of the later writers, and that whatever change has occurred has been wholly in the direction of improvement. Certainly, it in no wise affects our argument, if we are called upon to recognize some degree of change, so long as even opponents of revelation admit such change to be wholly in the way of a wider humanity and a deeper spirituality.

But how different is the case of heathendom. We have paused, for lack of space, at Sophocles. Need we say that to go on to the works of the next great artist in dramatic poetry, Euripides, would be to encounter a declension, so far

¹ *Remains*, pp. 275-278. [The italics are ours.]

as religious feeling is concerned. It is, no doubt, possible, that Schlegel and some other critics have dealt hardly with Euripides, both as poet and as teacher. But, after making all allowances, he must, in the matter of faith and reverence, be placed on a distinctly lower level than Æschylus, or Pindar, or Sophocles.

Then look at the rise of the school of Epicurus, and its effect on the poetry of both Greece and Rome. We do not wish to forget that the song of the minstrel and high-priest of the system, the unhappy Lucretius, contains many elements of solemn truth, as well as of intense beauty. That philanthropic temper, and also that deep sense of infinitude which has struck religious readers, such as Keble; nay, even the very fierceness of the poet's protests against the claims of religion, as he knew it, against the ideas of sacrifice and of endless woe, all testify to his conviction that he is not declaiming against cobweb-like fairy tales, that can be blown away with a breath. We cannot tell whether a presentation of a truer view of the Divine Providence might have altered the impressions of the gifted author of the *De Rerum Naturâ*; but the history of the man and of his poem, as it stands, is fraught with sorrow and awe. And yet, perhaps, to many minds, there is something still sadder in the light and careless Epicureanism of some others of the poetic choir, such as the pseudo-Anacreon, and Catullus, and Horace. And, though a brief protest, such as the noble hymn of Cleanthes the Stoic, may occasionally be heard, yet there can be little doubt but that Epicurism, as taught by the poets, did much to lower the general tone of heathen society. Möhler declares—and we can well believe him—that there is evidence to show that the treatment of slaves became worse under its blighting influence. We will not go into any of those details, which prove the correctness of the painful description given in the opening pages of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Mr. Farrar, in his *Life of Christ*, seems half inclined to censure those who, with Döllinger, in his *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, or Ernest Renan, in his *L'Antechrist*, have furnished such evidence. Yet, it must be borne in mind, that, if sceptics have full liberty to trace the sins and errors of Christendom, an entire silence on the previous and on the present condition of pagan lands must inevitably lead to false conclusions.

With the Greek, so far as Divine truth and human faith are concerned, we seem to be on the sea of fancy; with the Israelite, we are in the land of reason, experience,

and conviction. Then, again, between their conceptions of the Divine glory—one idea which runs through the Greek poems, and which affects the whole character of Greek sculpture, is wholly absent in Hebrew poetry. To the Greeks, happiness is an essential characteristic of the Deity, 'most blessed of the blest, Zeus is supreme in bliss.' This is never denied, it is simply wanting in the Hebrew singers, as in all true Christian art; to them it is divine to impart bliss, to compassionate suffering, to remove sorrow, but the personal enjoyment of happiness is never spoken of as divine, it is an accident, a result, not an element of perfection. They do not hesitate to affirm that God is grieved at the wicked every day, and that the Messiah is to prove 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.' On the other hand, how joyfully strong in hope and peace these Hebrew poets can be, whilst the most joyous passages of the Greek dramatists have so often an undertone of melancholy.

For 'ever and anon a sigh peers through their lavish mirth,' and however bravely 'they tune their lay to drive away all sorrow,' it is with the constant sense 'that bliss, alas, to-night must pass, and woe may come to-morrow.'

Again, it is instructive to compare the *Iliad*, the Bible of the Greeks, as it has been called, with the Bible of the Hebrews, and ask, which is the widest-minded, the many-sided book—which comes home the most universally to the hearts and minds and longings of men of every race and every age and every condition of life? Doubtless He, who in executing His purpose of raising mankind nearer to Himself, committed the revelation of the Divine nature and world-government to the Israelites, allotted also to the Greeks the task of idealizing the human nature and of developing and cultivating all its capacities, both mentally, physically, and æsthetically. And yet, or rather because the Hebrew was being taught to know and worship God, whilst the Greek was learning to understand and cultivate men—the 'narrower-minded' Hebrew's Bible gives a fuller, more varied, and more intensely human picture of men than does the Greek's. One more comparison. In the Greek drama, the interest and the tragedy consist in this, men conquered by circumstance. In the single dramatic poem remaining to us of the Hebrews, God is so controlling circumstance that his servant shall conquer. In the modern drama the tragic interest turns on men conquering circumstance: thus all unconsciously the light and the victory of the Incarnation and the cross is reflected, even by those, who thought they drew their inspiration from ancient Athens alone.

It was probably in the realm of sculpture that Greek art reached its height; for its perfection in the matter of execution Greek artists had obvious advantages above every other race, and we suppose that so far as beauty is concerned, and the power of completely expressing their idea, no other sculptors have approached them. We can only take one specimen, but surely no one can study the *Venus Victrix* of the Louvre without being almost enthralled with her loveliness. It is impossible to describe the mingled grace and dignity of her figure—the idea it gives you of overflowing life and elasticity, the queenly pose of her head, the expression of freedom and of triumph, conveyed, not in the face alone, but in her whole attitude. As far as such mingled power and loveliness can satisfy you, there is nothing more to be desired. But the merely earthly beauty of her face, the self-assertion of her attitude, the stony scorn on her lovely lips hardly satisfy one's ideal of pure womanhood, and certainly do not raise our thoughts to anything higher than that. She might very well stand for *Venus* looking on, whilst at her own command *Psyche* is being tortured at her feet. *Venus*, *Morris* tells us, has been very wroth because *Psyche* is too lovely, but now at last she has her in her power, and she stands—

‘Calm and very fair,
Her white limbs bared of all her golden hair,
Into her heart all wrath cast back again
As on the terror and the helpless pain
She gazed with gentle eyes, and unmoved smile.’

There are in the same gallery several statues of *Diana*, the graceful and mighty huntress, with much of calm dignity, with beautiful self-contained, self-regarding faces, all of the same type as the *Venus*; they go so far and they go no further. Let us go up into one of the picture-galleries above, and seek out among Christian works of art one to contrast with this.¹ The *Suisse* cannot direct you to *Raphael's S. Marguerite*: he politely inquires for you of a comrade; neither of them have heard of it; nevertheless it is there, though not so easily found as *Rubens' savage* beasts or large *Flemish* beauties. Very young, younger than *Venus*, little more than a child, *S. Margaret* has come through the gloomy

¹ It has been said, that it is impossible to compare a statue and a picture together; as works of art it may be, so subtly different are their objective modes of expression and their subjective results on the beholder. But the ideas respectively revealed by each may surely be compared, the one with the other; it is this common quantity, the value of which we are now concerned with, and this alone.

valley that stretches far behind her, and now at its end, amidst desolate rocks and gloom, she has met the Dragon who came out to drive her back or to destroy her. And she has conquered her foe: she too is Victrix. It may be the palm-branch in her little outstretched hand, it may be her most innocently lovely face, that has overthrown him: however that may be, he lies prostrate before her, gnashing his teeth and helplessly clutching the air with his tremendous claws, whilst he lashes the ground with huge coils of his serpent tail, vainly seeking to enfold her. She has conquered, but she is not conscious of her conquest, though her little feet are treading on his loathsome bat-like wing; she does not even see him: forgetting all that is past, all her mind is bent on that which lies beyond, as with a modest childlike grace she steps carefully onward, without triumph as without fear; her pure wide-opened eyes are earnestly fixed upon the upward path that leads her to her Lord.

Setting aside Christian and Greek faith for the moment, we ask our readers to consider how essentially different are these two types, not in degree, but in kind; how wide apart is the finite life expressed in the Venus, and the life foreshadowed in S. Margaret's wistful gaze; between the self-contented, self-regarding soul of the one, the purity and self-forgetfulness of the other.

And which of these two is the highest, and therefore the truest ideal of womanhood, which ennobles our thoughts and elevates our aspirations the most when we study it?

With the Greeks' wonderful artistic power, it can never be said they were less able to express their highest ideal than the Christian artist has been. And yet we may ask, is there any statue of Zeus comparable in majesty of thought or in moral power to the Moses of Michael Angelo, with, as some say this Moses has, the face of him who talked with God on the Mount. Even considering only the energy expressed, is there any Grecian statue so full of the conquering fire of the higher life as are some of his prophets—Ezekiel we think it is, or Jeremiah.

Those faultless heads of the Apollo, perfect in physical beauty and in intelligence, are not very high conceptions of the young man in his glory. There is nothing in them inconsistent with the legends that told of his shooting down the children of Niobe one by one before her face; of his flaying Marsyas and hanging him on the plane-tree: all the statue tells one is, that if he did such things, he did them with a splendid smile and a perfect grace.¹

¹ Mr. Matthew Arnold somewhere in his poems so describes him,

Contrast these with the S. John the Evangelist, the one that holds the pen and has the eagle by his side; with Raphael's S. Michael (also at the Louvre); or with that most wonderful face passing all description, the central figure in Leonardo's 'Last Supper,' as given in the life-size engraving taken about 1849, before which silence is the only possible attitude of the soul. Possibly the union of intellectual grandeur and moral power and purity cannot be approached in a human form without those traces of toil, of sorrow, of self-negation, of reverence, of holy anger or holier love, which not only override but disturb the physical beauty of form and colour. But Greek sculpture, uniting intellectual grandeur with physical beauty alone, makes their sensuous result the chief, if not the whole, of human excellence. It represents to us the perfection of that part of man's nature whereby he is akin to nature and to matter; and it must therefore take a lower standing than the art which gives us, with less perfect execution, the higher humanity which is drawing nearer to the Divine.

Then the Greeks sought to express the perfect for which they craved by proportion. All the misery, all the meanesses, all the errors of humanity, are owing to these ever being too much or too little; all will be right when men have learned to balance their natures rhythmically, musically, as the Deity does. And so their temples arose in exquisite proportions, as though built to the music of Apollo's lyre, a joy to the eye for ever. But there was no aspiration in those level lines, there was no suggestion of infinity in those complete proportions; in attaining perfection they had shut out the Divine. It was not so with the Temple of the Hebrews, which very possibly fell far short of the perfection of the Parthenon to the eye, but whose builder opened his prayer of dedication with the words—

'Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee, how much less this house that I have builded?—yet hearken unto the prayer Thy servant shall make in this place.'

And it is very different in a noble Gothic cathedral, with its endless variety, its rich traceries, its clustering columns and up-springing arches, and fretted pinnacles, and massy towers and soaring spires, all partly seen and partly hidden, all with a unity of spirit in a multiplicity of forms, all stimu-

'watching how the whetting sped.' For the other side, see Mr. Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, vol. i.

lating the imagination and raising the thoughts, each noble in itself, all suggestive of something higher than itself.

Here again the same strange difference meets us; in all Greek art you come to an end. It is very perfectly beautiful; you can look at it a long time, you can come back to it from time to time to bathe in its loveliness, to rest your mind in its fair proportions. But you cannot find its meaning grow upon you every time you see it; it is not a sacrament of inward strength and purity to your spirit. The artist's skill is beyond you, but the idea he had in his mind is not. He leads you a long way perhaps, but it is up to a dead wall at last, where his work is ended without pointing to anything beyond itself: it is complete, and therefore it does not satisfy, it does not even excite, our nobler aspirations.

Thus, there was an *excelsior* in Greek art, and it was an *excelsior* of life; but it was the psychical and physical, not the spiritual life. Nearly perfect in its kind, its kind was not divine, and, therefore, not fully human.

This, at least, is certain, it failed to satisfy the best of the Greeks themselves; to these the Gods became types of all that men should shun. Its effects on the Greeks generally are suggested by its own brief life. One of its latest critics, to whom we have referred so much (and, we may add, despite our differences, so gratefully) Mr. Symonds, dating its glorious outburst at Athens at 477, and the commencement of its decay at 413 years before the birth of our Lord, limits its glory to sixty-four years. For two generations, for sixty-four years, Grecian art and philosophy had been educating the youth of Greece, and the fruit of this education was not *excelsior*, it was decline. Why? Surely because it had no sure faith, no growing life to give them; but satisfying their senses with its own exceeding loveliness, it dragged them down to its own sensuous level. History did but repeat itself when, in the progress of the Renaissance, the artists of Italy, forsaking the Christian art of Michael Angelo and Raphael, of Fra Angelico and Andrea del Sarto, strove to be purely classical, in idea as in execution, and fell.

The character of Greek art and thought (for the two are inseparable), during the subsequent period, from the conquests of Alexander to the final extinction of classical civilization, from 323 B.C. to 300 A.D., we will give in Mr. Symonds' own words:—¹

'Athens' (before 323) 'has ceased to be an empress; has become a garrulous housewife, contents herself with amusements.'

¹ *The Greek Poets*: J. A. Symonds, chap. i.

Later on :—

‘The art of writing without anything to say, the sister art of quarrying the thoughts of other people, and setting them out in elaborate prolixities of style, are brought to perfection : at the same time, side by side with these literary moths and woodlice, are the more industrious ants,—students of the paste-brush and scissors sort, to whom we owe much for the preservation of scraps of otherwise lost treasures. . . . The genius of Hellas has nothing better to do than to potter about like a dilettante among her treasures.’

Her chief honour in these days is that she has founded the Alexandrian school ; but then we read : ‘Alexandria in Idylls and Epigrams is carving cherry-stones, after the sculptor’s mallet has been laid aside.’ And though Athens educated Rome, and grafted Roman strength on her own subtle beauty, yet, at the end of this last period, ‘the genius of Greece was effete.’ Then, strangely enough, he declares it was the iconoclastic zeal and piety of the Christians which ‘put an end practically to Greek art and literature ;’ thus achieving that mysterious task of slaying the dead.

For 400 years, then, before the birth of Christ, the vitality of Greek thought and art had been steadily declining ; and if we look round at the close of that period, what shall we see ? Assyrian conquests, long forgotten, are buried out of sight in the desert sands. Egyptian sphinxes and pyramids are barely known as the dead memorials of the long-forgotten dead. Hindoos, instead of gaining calm repose in the contemplation of purity in Brahma, of intelligence in Buddha, are seeking safety in self-torture, or happiness in selfish power. The Hebrew prophets have ceased to speak ; the people waiting for their Messiah are for the most part fondly dreaming that when He comes, He will come for none but themselves. Grecian art is nearly lifeless ; of Grecian thought one thing remains living and life-giving, their language, ‘itself an idea,’ as Sara Coleridge says, cultivated to the utmost, and made fit as human language can be, to receive, without obscuring, and to preserve, without degrading, the spiritual truths about to be poured into it from Heaven. But for this treasure, Athenians themselves have now no higher use than daily to hear or to tell in it some new thing ; Athens is filled with idols ; the genius of Greece is dying. Rome, indeed, has her poet, will have her Stoics ; but the last of the Romans has slain himself, not stoical enough to survive the death of his country.

There is not one free nation left ; of Grecian art and thought, of Roman patriotism and law, this is the practical

result, 'there is no help from the gods, and no hope for men ; let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'

Then, when all human efforts had failed, and all human aspirations seemed quenched in despair, without the efforts of men, without the wisdom of the schools, without the aid of artist or of poet, the Day-star arose, and once for all Despair for men was slain. The great Conqueror of anarchy and of slavery, the Prince of Peace, and the Life of men, He for whom, 'far and wide, though all unknowing,' all human hearts had been yearning, the Incarnate One, whom Socrates may have dimly foreseen, and whom Isaiah had plainly foretold, was come ; and Galilean fishermen were proclaiming far and wide the answer to those questions which artist and sage had vainly sought to divine, 'God has come down to men ; henceforth men can rise up to God.'

We are not wandering from our subject : for if the Christian record be divine, we have here, given us from Heaven itself, the vast and still onward-moving epic poem of the human race. And for those who question its divine origin, the Christian record itself, with its amazing, unspeakable, awful tragedy, must stand up as the one transcendent work of art, at once answering every question and satisfying every aspiration of the soul, and actually being the turning-point of the world's history.

It has been also the turning-point in the world's art. Art indeed holds a lower place as an elevator of men now than it did of old. Then we had to seek for the highest ideas and most certain record of men's actual faith and hopes from their arts and their poets. But human art is unequal to the task of embodying the ideas and the aims revealed to us in Christianity, and we have therefore only to ask now, How this revelation has affected the still merely human arts of Christian races.

If what Maurice said of ancient history be true, as we have tried to show it is, of ancient art ; if the longing for the manifestation of God was the mystery which lay beneath and explained the art of the ancient world ; it is yet more completely true that 'the gift of eternal life is the mystery which lies beneath' and inspires the true art of the modern world.

Is it not this which is whispered to us in the vast cathedral ? this which glorifies the saints on the summits of Milan ? this which has drawn S. Margaret out of herself, which has quickened and solemnized the soul that shines upon us in those sweet earnest eyes ?¹

¹ Compare again on these points Mr. Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, vol. i., and Mr. Browning's poem, *Old Pictures in Florence*.

Is it not this, too, which our noblest music is telling out, when it pours around us, sometimes whispering as from far-off lands, its mystery of awe or of life ; sometimes overwhelming us with its multitudinous throbbing, swelling strains of prayer and of praise, prophesying to us of things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive ?

And what is that strange power that some of our modern landscape paintings have over us ; why indeed do the mountains and woods, the seas and the sunset skies, entrance us, as they never did the old world when filled with nymphs and demi-gods and fauns ? Is it not because even in nature there is now

‘ A presence that disturbs us with the joy
Of elevated thoughts ; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused ;
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ? ’

And surely it is this which makes Christian art so much more varied, so far more suggestive. We have said that no one can ponder long in thought on the revelations made to us in the *Venus Victrix* : and we find the worshippers of classic art have been struck by this want of suggestiveness ; they call it ‘ the reserve of the Gods.’ But to the Christian cathedral, the Christian Oratorio, the Christian picture, you can come again and again, and every time you come learn something more, gain some new insight, some stronger aspiration for that which it reveals. There is no end which we can reach, when through the outward form we are brought nearer to the mystery of eternal life, or catch a glimpse of the soul that is silenced in the vision of God.

We may take as instances of this overflowing suggestiveness, Raphael's *S. Cecilia*, as, transfixed and rapt, she is listening, with upturned face, to the distant strains that float down to her from the angelic choir. Take the ‘ *Light of the World*,’ the ‘ *Shadow of Death*,’ the ‘ *Scapegoat*.’ Of quite another kind, take Leonardo's ‘ *Medusa* ;’ why is this so terrible in the intensity of its beauty and horror, compared with the merely painful physical anguish of the ‘ *Laocoon* ?’ Or ‘ *La Gioconda*,’ the ‘ *Mona Lisa* ’ of the Louvre.¹ What makes her beauty so mournfully, so overwhelmingly sad ? is it not because the

¹ “ *La Gioconda* ” is in the truest sense Leonardo's masterpiece. In suggestiveness only the “ *Melancholia* ” of Dürer is comparable with it ; and no crude symbolism disturbs the effect of its subdued and graceful

artist has compelled you at one and the same time to look with a fascinated gaze on such beauty, such capacities of being, and to listen to the echoes of that for ever and for ever, in the horror of a great darkness, and the loss of the vision of God?

Surely, too, it is this revelation of that higher life, which we are taught to call eternal life, which has given to Christian art that higher value for—that deeper sense of—that fuller sympathy with—all forms of life, which is manifested in such works as Landseer's 'Chief Mourner,' or the 'Challenge and the Defeat;' or made it possible for Thorwaldsen to symbolize in the 'Dying Lion of Lucerne' all the faithfulness and heroic devotion of the Swiss Guard.

How much of the beauty of Christian art in modern days is due to the arts of Greece, we need not hesitate to confess. All we maintain is, it is the beauty of execution, not of thought or idea, that it learnt from Greece. Just as in philosophy, it was the forms of thought and the fitting language which Greece gave to Christianity, not the truths themselves, so it has been in art. The thought made visible to us in the 'Shadow of Death,' for instance, is one far more akin to the Psalmist's cry—

'My soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth after Thee,
In a dry and thirsty land where no water is,
To see Thy power and Thy glory, so as I have seen Thee in the
sanctuary,'

mystery. We all know the face and hands of the figure set in its marble chair, in that cirque of fantastic rocks as in some faint light under sea.

The presence that thus so strangely rose beside the waters is expressive of what in the ways of a thousand years man had come to desire. Hers is the head upon which all the ends of the world have come, and the eyes are a little weary. It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh,—the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts, and fantastic reveries, and exquisite passions. Set it for a moment by one of those volute Greek goddesses, or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty into which the soul with all her maladies has passed! All the thoughts and experiences of the world have etched and moulded there—in that which they have of power to refine and make expressive the outward form—the animalism of Greece, the lust of Rome, the reverie of the Middle Age, with its spiritual ambition and imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias. She is older than the rocks among which she sits; like the vampire, she has been dead many times and learned the secrets of the grave; and has been a diver in deep seas, and keeps their fallen day about her; and trafficked for strange webs with Eastern merchants; and, as Leda, was mother of Helen of Troy, and, as S. Ann, the mother of Mary; and all this has been to her but as the sounds of lyres and flutes, and lives only in the delicacy with which it has moulded the changing lineaments and tinged the eyelids and the hands.—W. H. Pater's *Studies of the Renaissance*.

than to any passion of which we can find the smallest trace in classic art.

And even in this matter of execution, the influence of classical art may easily be overrated. Christian architecture was at its best before the Renaissance began; our music owes nothing, we are told, to the ancient world. None of their paintings had survived to instruct Cimabue, or Giotto, or Perugino. But it was the office of the Christian faith here, as everywhere, to accept and to rekindle whatever there has been true or lovely or of good report, as in human nature, so in all the efforts of men to rise. It does not so much borrow from earlier arts, it accepts and purifies all that was true in them, completing their broken hints, satisfying their weary longings, and adding the revelation which at once included and completed them.

But to attempt now to go back to Pagan art or Pagan thought separated once more from Christian art and truth—and many are attempting it—is folly, and worse. Their aspirations were a reality; ours, if they are no higher than theirs, are a sham. Their love of physical beauty was human: whilst they had not the Incarnation, they were right in seeking for the highest perfection they could realize. Ours, being a wilful rejection of a higher beauty, would be merely bestial. It is not possible for us to grow back into an age that is past; if we will return to childishness, it will be not to the healthy childhood of a vigorously growing life, but to the morbid dotage of decay.

‘Vain thought which shall not be at all,
Refuse ye or obey,
Ye who have heard the Almighty’s call
Ye cannot be as they.’

ART. VIII.—THE RESTORATION OF PATHS TO DWELL IN.

[COMMUNICATED.]

[In common with some of our contemporaries we propose to prefix this term to contributions involving views, which appear to us to be thoroughly lawful and consistent with loyalty to the Church, and to be such as deserve consideration, but which have not yet received such examination or stamp of authority as to incline us to publish them under precisely the same conditions as the rest of our issue.]

The Restoration of Paths to Dwell in. Essays on the re-editing and interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures. By the Rev. BENJAMIN STREET, B.A., Vicar of Barnet by the Wold (Isbister and Co., London).

THE work whose title stands at the head of this Article, and which we propose to pass, to some extent, under review, is a remarkable one, for two or three reasons.

It is a peculiarity of the Church of England, at once its glory and its shame, that in no other community, probably, would the writer of such a work as this be left without any official recognition of his great learning and abilities, and of the reverent spirit in which he has undertaken one of the most useful, and at the same time most needed tasks of the present day. We observe that Mr. Street does not affix so much as the initials, which denote a Rural Dean, to his name.

Again, when we note the date of publication, 1872, we cannot but be struck with the fact that the self-constituted guides of public opinion have had extremely little to say about this most interesting book.

Whilst the periodical press literally teems with trashy tales, which reviewers dissect and analyse *usque ad nauseam*, there seems to be no time or space left in which to direct attention to such a work as this—a work which attempts, and in our opinion successfully, to stem the torrent of modern scepticism at its source, and to supply that greatest want of the present day, a reconciliation of the revealed will of God, as found in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, with the eternal principles of right and justice, of truth and purity.

Let any one compare Mr. Street's work with Mr. Matthew

Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, and they will probably come to the conclusion that the former is in reality a far deeper work. Yet, whilst for the last year or two we have almost been afraid of opening a Review, for fear of being wearied with fresh laudation of a writer who could only see in the Psalms, with their intense belief in a Personal God, evidence that that Living God was 'a stream of tendency,' or, 'something, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness,' we do not remember to have met with a single review of Mr. Street's truly noble volume. And it is only by what we must look upon as a very fortunate accident for ourselves that it has come into our possession.

But it is time that we gave some account of the book itself.

Mr. Street, in his Preface, takes up a position which is almost sure to commend itself to Churchmen. He firmly and unhesitatingly enunciates that grand and eternal principle of the plenary power of the Catholic Church to declare the truth to all her children—a power which flows logically and consistently from her perpetual information and enlightenment by God the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father, promised by the Son, to guide her into all the truth.

'It is high time that the Church should plainly declare what positions she takes up on the ground of the Old Testament; for this the Church has never yet done, but has sat still, allowing this individual commentator and that to declare what positions are tenable and necessary to be held; some of which are such that the faith and work committed to the Church are neither hindered nor promoted, whether those positions are abandoned or maintained.

'Other positions of great importance the Church neither abandons nor firmly occupies. Some of these concern the precepts and exemplification of immutable morality; and the sceptics of the time, finding these carelessly held, select them as points of assault, and make havoc. The Church, indeed, too generally defends such positions in the Old Testament as the Jews selected for defence, and with the same weapons that the Rabbin used.

'Our Lord and the Apostles did otherwise; they chose points of strength unsuspected by the Jews, as when our Lord defended the truth of the Resurrection from the ground on which Moses stood when the Lord appeared to him at the bush; and from that place scattered the Sadducees, who rested the defence of their opinions on a place ignorantly chosen by them.'

Thus are laid down a few of the principles upon which the work proceeds.

The truth is, that ever since the last of the Apostles fell asleep, at the close of the first century of the Christian era,

the Church has manifested, not so much in theory, as in practice, a reluctance, or hesitancy, call it what we will, in declaring her mind about the Old Testament Scriptures. And in view of the discoveries of modern physical science, this attitude of the Church seems to us most providential. The early heretics, on the one hand, such as the great Gnostic leaders of the second and third centuries, and the philosophic heathen opponents of Christianity, such as Celsus and Porphyry on the other, were constantly twitting the Catholics, to use a homely expression, on the opposition between the perfect morality of the Gospel and the somewhat dubious, or, to say the least, imperfect morality of the Patriarchal and Mosaic Dispensations. In the absence of any authoritative teaching on the part of the Church, individual Fathers and ecclesiastical writers faced the objections as best they could.

Some, as S. Epiphanius seems to have done, held the theory of the verbal and literal inspiration of the Septuagint version. With such a critical and mental apparatus, they might be said to go into battle like the knight of old, armed *cap à pie*. There was no power of criticism or science known to that age which could overthrow them: but they, for their part, could do but little execution upon lightly-armed and vigorous adversaries. Origen's theory was a much more serviceable one; and in the hands of men of genius equal to his own, but of less extravagance, it might have been consolidated into a system of Biblical exposition which would have answered all objections, and upon which the Catholic Church might have set with safety the seal of her approbation.

This is not the place to enter upon the inquiry why the system of Origen, so marvellous in its attractiveness, was looked upon with suspicion in his own day and generation, and never succeeded in winning any general acceptance, though none but a tyro, or a writer under the dominion of invincible prejudice, would deny that it has been a mighty power in the Church down almost to our own age.

Of S. Jerome it is only necessary to observe that he attempted to steer a middle course between Origen and Epiphanius. He rejected with contempt, as founded upon a fable of Aristæus, the verbal inspiration of the Septuagint. And, as we see in his *Commentaries upon the Old Testament*, almost *passim*, he prefers what he calls the Hebrew Verity to the Alexandrian Translation, and explains discrepancies between the two upon the hypothesis, that the Seventy Elders frequently mistook one Hebrew word or letter for another.

No thoughtful Christian mind can help being struck with the fact that the age-long battle in defence of the Old Testament must be fought over again in this generation. And its adversaries beleaguer the camp with more persistency, and, as they think, with greater chance of ultimate success than ever before.

Mr. Street's defence is based upon an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the original languages. His vindication of God's written word seems to us to be the result of original powers of thought, supported by adequate learning.

In his second chapter he traces the sources of our present difficulties

'to the unconcern of the early Church for the Hebrew text, when taking over the Old Testament from its ancient guardians, the Jews.

'This unconcern of the early Church for the Hebrew text appears marvellous, when we consider the power which the acquisition of the Hebrew language and the knowledge of the original text would have given to the Church in the first centuries of her existence in dealing with and controverting the Jews.

'But the Hebrew text of the Scriptures passes out of sight for all practical purposes. In the ancient records of the Church, the Fathers cannot be said to have made any use of it: yet the study which they gave to profane Greek literature, if bestowed on the Hebrew, would have made them masters of it. But the Septuagint was the Hebrew Scripture to them.

'The utter ignorance of the Hebrew text among the Fathers is nowhere more evident than in Tertullian's argument against some who asserted that the Hebrew Genesis began with the words, "*In the beginning God created for Himself a Son*" (In Praxeam V.): instead of appealing to the Hebrew, he says, "*Hoc ut firmum non sit, alia me deducunt argumenta*," refuting the mistranslation by subtleties concerning the manner of God's existence. If the Church had possessed any authorized Version he might have appealed to it. But it would seem that in the early centuries of the Church the interpretation of the Old Testament was left to private judgment.'

The ignorance of Hebrew was no doubt very great amongst the Fathers of the primitive Church, speaking generally. But we are disposed to think Mr. Street is rather too sweeping in his statements in the foregoing paragraph, and that the ignorance, though wide-spread, was far from universal. The Apostle S. Barnabas, as a Levite, must have been thoroughly well acquainted with the language in which the sacred books were originally written. At any rate it is clear, that the author of the Epistle ascribed to him, whether he were really the author or not, had access to and was familiar

with books, now lost, containing ritual directions for the due performance of the Temple service at Jerusalem, with other things required or enjoined by the Mosaic Law. These books were, in all probability, in the hands of Priests and Levites only. They must have been compiled in Hebrew, or Chaldaic. And it is scarcely possible that they should have ever been translated into Greek. And if, with Hilgenfeld, we assign the Epistle of S. Barnabas to about A.D. 96, it would seem clear, that its author must have been a Christian familiar with the Aramaic tongues.

Again, in a *History of the Early Christian Church*, by a Lincolnshire Clergyman, the Rev. T. W. Mossman, some evidence of a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of S. Clemens Romanus is adduced.

S. Clement, in his 42nd chapter, refers to a portion of Isaiah, lx. 17, and translates, 'I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faithfulness.' Upon which Mr. Mossman remarks :

'S. Clement does not follow the LXX. here in his translation, but seems to have done what his great master, S. Paul, did so frequently, translated the Hebrew for himself. But he appears to have had a somewhat different text from the one we have at present. *This passage is one of several* which incline me strongly to the belief that S. Clement was particularly well acquainted with Hebrew. Unless he were, he would scarcely have substituted for the LXX. ἀρχοντας, his own rendering, διακόνους, of the Hebrew נְשִׂיךְ.'

To these remarks one might add that Hegesippus, who has perhaps a better right to the title of 'Father of Ecclesiastical History' than Eusebius, was evidently well versed in Aramaic literature. The style of his writings, and the unmistakeable Hebraic turn of his sentences, in the numerous fragments of his works preserved by Eusebius, show this.

This, however, is by the way. It is with much diffidence that we venture to differ from such an authority as Mr. Street upon this point; and we are bound in candour to add, that the present Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Trench, in, we think, his work on S. Augustine as an expositor of Scripture, uses even stronger language as to the ignorance of Hebrew on the part of the Fathers, excepting of course SS. Jerome and Epiphanius, than Mr. Street does. Dr. Trench, if we remember rightly, for we have not his work before us, speaks somewhat contemptuously of even Origen's knowledge of Hebrew.

Mr. Street proceeds to adduce evidence tending to show :

1. That the chief difficulties connected with the interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures by Christians may be traced to a confused and defective arrangement of their contents.

2. That it is possible, in certain instances, to detect this faulty arrangement, and, knowing its cause, restore the original sequence.

Let us hear what he says upon the first of these points :

‘It has also happened that the Church of Christ has the old Testament Scriptures in a text in exactly the same condition of arrangement which they exhibited when published by Ezra, and used by the Jews for some centuries before Christ.

‘The Jews scrupulously refrained from correcting the misplacement or malformation of a letter when copying a roll of recognized genuineness and antiquity. The Christian has equally refrained from transposing paragraphs obviously misplaced, and from displacing a paragraph accidentally inserted in a place or book to which it does not belong.

‘The dislocations of the texts are such, that he who would understand what he reads must either frame an order of sequences for himself, or adopt one suggested by some Biblical critic. While studious men are obliged to do this for themselves, and average readers do not suspect that it is needed, the Church has stood for long years looking on captiously at the student who makes experiments at a rearrangement of the text, and unconcernedly at the general reader who makes what he can out of a confused narrative : whilst popular commentators overtax their ingenuity in attempting to dovetail together paragraphs which have no connection in reality. The result sometimes is a confusion of doctrine, sometimes of morality, stumbling-blocks to the reader, and opportunities to the scoffer.

Mr. Street incidentally directs attention to one of the miseries which result from the present divided state of Christendom, the utter want of spiritual authority. When he speaks of the Church looking on captiously, or unconcernedly, we do not understand him to mean the Universal, or Catholic Church of the Creeds, but the Church as it practically presents itself to the eyes of men, split into sections, divided into parties.

Upon the second of the points which we selected for notice Mr. Street expresses himself thus ; and the words, to our thinking, deserve to be written in letters of gold :—

‘In the Book of the Law as it now stands, the law of divorce and the law of marriage run parallel. The impression given by the common arrangement of the text is that the law contemplated divorce at the time that it hallowed marriage, for Exodus xxi. 10,

referring to concubines and divorce, is placed as though it were a supplement to the Seventh Commandment. Our Lord Himself had to interpose on this point, and tell the Jewish expounders of the Law that marriage had been from the beginning, but divorce tolerated only on account of the inveterate perverseness, *hardness of heart*, of the people. But the Jews had the Book of the Law, as we have, in such a disordered arrangement, that they naturally supposed divorce as lawful a thing as marriage.

‘It seems reasonable to presume that in very ancient times, long before the Captivity, the various precepts in the Book of Exodus were arranged in such order as to exhibit precepts and statutes (*mishpatim*) provided for particular cases of infraction of a law, in juxtaposition with the original law; so that the book was made one of ready reference for the judge who had to decide cases. Such an arrangement of the book would be of great utility in the Jewish commonwealth, but worse than useless in the Christian Church and community.

‘The Temple copy exhibiting the original order and continuity would decay or perish and the only copies current would be those used by the judges on their circuits, or by the priests in adjudicating. Copies in this form only would come into Ezra’s hands.’

And, in what follows, Mr. Street appears to us to take the true line as to the powers and authority of the undivided Catholic Church—undivided in the days of old—and to be once more re-united, as we humbly hope, in answer to the prayers of those who plead for the peace of Jerusalem:—

‘Many have satisfied themselves as regards the apparent incompatibility of our Lord’s precepts with some of those sanctioned in the Old Testament, by a vague supposition that the Lord finding the Law to have failed, changed the spirit with which He had dealt with man when He sent the Saviour into the world. Some such notion as this is probably still the refuge of many who feel at times perplexed upon the subject.

‘Many have been told that if they stumbled at an apparent inconsistency of spirit in two places, they staggered for want of faith; whereas, in some cases, it was from a clear-sighted faith in Christ, as the Manifester of the nature of God, that they were able to perceive that there did lie a stumbling-block in the way, unremoved. And such would never have been left if the Church, on admitting the Jewish rolls into her muniments, had stirred up the spirit within her, and by the light of the Gospel had made the rough places smooth and the crooked places straight for the footsteps of believers in Christ.

‘Some places are crooked and rough, not from imperfect translation, but because the Jews so disposed the materials and component parts of Scripture, as to encumber the way to the eternal moral law by interposing the apparatus of the temporary ceremonial law. The

Gospel gives the Church light by which to see this, and the Spirit gives her strength and authority to *take up the stumbling-blocks out of the way of the people of the Lord* (Is. lvii. 14), and set everything in its proper place.'

With one more passage we shall conclude our notice of this portion of Mr. Street's work. What can be more beautiful and reverential than the way in which he expresses himself?—

'No one would take up the Scriptures to *re-edit* them as he would take up any mere book. The Church, contemplating the work, would think how great must have been the reverence and awe with which the angels, at the Lord's Resurrection, disposed decently and in order the fine linen in which the Lord's Body had been wrapped, and the napkin that had been round His Head. The Old Testament would be to her like the one, the New Testament of her Head like the other.'

We must now pass over much interesting matter to come to what is, in our opinion, the gem of the book.

Great discoveries in philology are, like really important discoveries in every other science, comparatively rare. And fortunate is he, whom the world of literature shall finally pronounce to have made such a discovery. And this must be the comfort of all original thinkers, that the recognition of the value of their thoughts and their discoveries *must surely come*. It may be that the recognition will come in their own day and generation, or it may be centuries hence, but it will come.

Such a discovery, in what, for want of another name, we may call, perhaps, Biblical philology, it is our honest opinion Mr. Street has made.

We can do little more here than indicate what its nature is, and direct the attention of all earnest students of the Hebrew Scriptures to the *Restoration of Paths to dwell in*.

In the 12th chapter of this work Mr. Street adduces evidence tending to show that there is a special formula peculiar to a direct divine communication, and appropriated to it alone; and that another formula is used when the communication proceeded through a priest.

Mr. Street shall speak for himself. We would merely premise that we are able to give but a very small portion of the arguments and deductions and collations of texts, over which he has spent, we should fancy, many years of hard toil.

'Wherever it is written, *The Lord spake (dabar), saying, &c.*, we must understand a direct communication from the Lord. But wherever we

read, *The Lord said (amar)*, there was no direct communication (unless a vision of the Lord to the person addressed is recorded), but a messenger is reporting something which, according to him, the Lord had spoken.

‘But when we read, *God said*, or *the Lord God said*, or *God spake*, saying, &c., we must understand that the Lord Himself is the Speaker.

‘The crucial word in the Hebrew indicating a direct communication is *dabar*, λαλεῖν, to speak; but when *amar*, λέγειν, to say, only is used, a direct communication is not positively asserted.

‘If Moses, instead of writing, *God said*, let us make man, and *God blessed the seventh day*, had written, *The Lord said*, and *the Lord blessed*, &c., the Hebrew would have understood that some one, commissioned to speak and bless, had done so in the Lord’s name. This is why the word *Lord*, *Jehovah*, is not found in the narrative of the Creation.

‘If the directions to Joshua had been immediately from the Lord, the Hebrew Scriptural diction would require it to be expressed by “The Lord spake (*dabar*) unto Joshua, saying,” &c., or “The word (*dabar*) of the Lord came to the prophet, saying,” &c. The prophet is called *nabi*, *he who speaks out*, for he was to declare the word or matter (*dabar*) which the Lord imparted to him, *put into his mouth*.

‘The peculiar Hebrew formula is observed by the Evangelists, e.g. τὸ ῥήθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος, “what was spoken by the Lord, who, through the prophet, said,” &c. (Matt. i. 23); and (Acts xxviii. 25) τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησε . . . λέγον, “The Holy Ghost spake, saying;” where the ἐλάλησε, *spake*, in the formula *spake*, saying, indicates the personality of the Holy Ghost.

‘Besides the words *dabar*, actual utterances by the Lord, and *amar*, reporting what was said, the word *neum*, translated *said*, but meaning *affirmed*, has, in the Hebrew, a special and intense significance.

‘The word *neum*, saying, is never found combined with *dabar*, or with *amar*, and is never applied to express man speaking, but is exclusively reserved to express, *The Lord said*; and is the special word for all specially solemn utterances, such as, *By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord (neum)*. *The Lord said (neum) unto my Lord, Sit Thou on my right hand* (Ps. cx. 1).

‘The only exceptions to this general rule are, *Balaam said* (Num. xxiv.); *The Son of Jesse said*, David’s last words (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, Prov. xxx. 1); and where the Lord rebukes false prophets for abasing it (Jer. xxiii. 31).

The word may be said to be peculiar to prophets, as *amar* is to priests, in declaring what the Lord had spoken. It is logically related to *nēman*, faithful, and so to *amen*, true, which leads us to conclude that the solemn ἄμην λέγω, *verily I say*, translates and represents the solemn *neum*, *I affirm*. S. Jerome says, the ἄμην λέγω, from our Lord’s lips, is an equivalent to the ancient Hebrew affirmation made with the formula, *As the Lord liveth*. S. Paul paraphrases it, as E. Castell remarks, by πιστός ὁ λόγος, “what I say is true” (“This is a faithful saying,” E.V.)

And thus Mr. Street goes on for many pages, pouring forth the deep stores of his varied learning, bringing out of his treasures things new and old. He appears to us to test his great discovery in Hebrew criticism in every possible way, and, so far as we can see, it comes forth intact from the critical alembic. It is possible that further study of the Hebrew Scriptures may suggest modifications of Mr. Street's philological canon, but taking it as a whole, we believe that all the coming years will only tend to establish its truth and its value.

We must now take leave of Mr. Street, with the remark, that we shall feel abundantly repaid if we should be the means of bringing into greater notice a work, which, we are convinced, is eminently calculated to promote the highest interests of Christian literature, and a deeper, and therefore a better knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures.

ART. IX.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE PUBLIC WORSHIP ACT.

The Law relating to Public Worship; with especial regard to matters of Ritual and Ornamentation, and to the means for securing the due observance thereof. By SEWARD BRICE, LL.D. (London: Stevens and Haynes, 1875.)

IF any reason had been requisite to justify the resistance which many persons felt themselves bound under a grave sense of responsibility to present to the passage of the Public Worship Regulation Act, during the Session of 1874, such would now be most abundantly forthcoming, in the absence of outward excitement which has so far characterized the arrival of the date at which the Act quickened into operative life. All through the stormy period, dating from that unlucky day in March when *The Times* was privileged to flash upon the world the announcement of an intended Episcopal *coup-de-main*, down to the afternoon upon which the Bill, after a capricious series of Protean changes, was crystallized into an Act, two distinct motives were insisted on for pushing the unexpected legislation on the part of its promoters. Simple bewilderment was the first feeling which

possessed the public, outside of the very small knot which had been taken into confidence; as, however, the proposal grew in distinctness, it was found that two policies, not divergent, but absolutely inconsistent and irreconcilable, found expression in the incoherent arguments of the two sections of its unequally yoked band of promoters.

It was on the one part plausibly contended, upon an analysis of the measure itself in its successive stages, without reference to the external incidents which made up its history, that it was solely brought in to simplify procedure, and that there neither could be, nor was there any desire to abridge the existing liberties of the recognized historical parties within the Church, or to reduce its worship to a dead level of dry Puritanism. This party found a powerful ally in Lord Cairns, as he continued to dissect the successive phases of the measure, succeeding the first unlucky cast which he had very powerfully contributed to laugh out of court, in a series of speeches, which combined a masterly analysis of its distinct provisions within its own four corners, with the consistent repudiation of the outside considerations which, as all politicians knew, had brought about its introduction. Lord Selborne pleaded in the same direction, while the concise summings up of Lord Salisbury, himself no friend of the Bill, even admitting that they were somewhat ironical, were such as to comfort opponents without encouraging supporters. In the House of Commons, too, the speeches with which Mr. Russell Gurney introduced the Bill, and Mr. Cross supported it upon the second reading, in their honest, conciliatory, and tolerant language, gave the guarantees that in the intentions of at least those two distinguished persons, persecution was not the word which was to be read between the lines of the intended Statute.

The other section of the supporters of the Bill was made up of persons who were too practically in earnest to bandy arguments, while they fancied themselves strong enough to undo the forty-years-old Church revival and to confine the Establishment within the dykes of a Maremma where no one but the Puritan and the Latitudinarian could draw breath. Its power lay in round, strong, well-spiced assertions and in accusations which were too general and too grave to need the artificial support of evidence. These found their appropriate mouthpieces in religious newspapers and meetings of respectable middle-aged men professedly zealous for the well-being of our Protestant institutions.

It cannot at the same time be denied, that this faction,

which hailed the tidings of the new measure as the promise of a sharp and short remedy against their High Church foes, were much encouraged by the reasons with which the Metropolitan of Canterbury recommended the Bill to the House of Lords. Far be it from us to appear to insinuate that which we thoroughly disbelieve, or to seem to countenance the idea that the Primate had any sympathy with the policy of men whose success, as he must have well known, would have been synonymous with the destruction of the old national Church of England, both as a spiritual and as a political institution. But it was extremely unfortunate that he should have allowed the excitement of debate to hurry him into singling out the policy of the Bishop of Durham as the example to be held up to the approval and imitation of Parliament, and into dwelling upon the persecution by that prelate of a clergyman for the offence of assuming the Eastward position, as evidence of some crying necessity for drastic legislation. Mr. Disraeli's extravagant boast, at a much later stage of the no longer identical Bill—which could only be characterized by his own favourite adjective 'harum-scarum'—that it was intended to 'put down Ritualism,' naturally tended to foster the same impression, in spite of the vital alterations to which it had in the months intervening between the Archbishop and the Ministerial speeches been subjected, and although he threw in an unexplained difference between Ritualists and the 'High Church party,' which really left the adroit statesman absolutely unfettered for the future. It must not be forgotten that the House of Commons never was brought face to face with the Bill of *The Times* leader, of the Episcopal caucus, of the Archbishopal harangue, and of the grudgingly conceded reference to Convocation. The proposal which the Peers were in April directed to swallow was to proclaim the Church in a state of siege, by supplementing the existing machinery of the ecclesiastical judiciary, which was to be retained like a bottled specimen in a provincial museum, with a novel drumhead court, to be named, *pro re natâ*, by the Ordinary, for the trial of such suits as the Ordinary pleased to promote, and at which the Ordinary would have been virtual prosecutor. It was to set up a court in which silence was to presuppose guilt, and where an appeal was not to be suspensory.

This eccentric suggestion, when the Bill was approaching its second reading in the Lords, and its details had loomed into intelligibility, produced as much of astonishment as reprobation, and for a short time the *Record* and the *Church*

Times were found in opposition to the same measure. The reference of it to the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, then sitting, so grudgingly granted and so imperfectly carried out, resulted in its emphatic condemnation, and in the suggestion of a repeal of the Clergy Discipline Act, and of a reform of the old Diocesan Courts. The question seemed to be, how to discover some decorous process for putting out of the way a proposition, which it was as impossible to square with the promptings of natural justice as of constitutional law or ecclesiastical procedure, when, upon the second reading early in May, Lord Shaftesbury rose in his most autocratic mood and banned the bantling. A pathetic appeal for mercy was indeed made by a Bishop exceptionally gifted with rhetorical ability: the Bill, as he showed, was a very bad one in all its details, but as it would be unpleasant to the collective episcopate to have its joint handiwork snuffed out, it ought as a whole to be accepted. A compromise was accordingly reached, of which the ruling spirit was to retain the title and the preamble, and to transform the machinery of all the operative clauses. As the Bill had been brought in, the unreal and ceremonious retention of old forms and jurisdictions was to have been the mask behind which a licence of unchecked paternal government was to have accrued to the members of the episcopate. In its reformed shape, new people were to fill the land and an extemporized judge was not merely to take his seat at the novel tribunal, but even to climb the venerable chairs of the Dean of Arches, and of the official Principal of York. The diocesans were to be absorbed by metropolitans, and metropolitans themselves could only act as spiritual Siamese twins, fast bound by the ligature of the one common judge. With many changes in its details the Bill preserved this general form during its remaining progress through the Upper House. A well-meant but crude proposal of the Bishop of Peterborough to 'neutralize' the Eastward position, and one or two other matters, attracted attention for a few days; but the Lord Chancellor desired to improve the suggestion by including also the Athanasian Creed, and it collapsed suddenly and completely.

Even assuming that the new shape of the Bill was preferable to the first cast, the duty of opposition was in no respect withdrawn from those, who had refused to accept the ambiguous outburst of panic legislation on matters which above all others required a statesmanship far-reaching, peaceable, temperate, impartial, erudite, unflecked with spot of

suspicion. In its new form it still bristled with vexatious provisions, and its backers were the same men who had cheered on the original aggression. The pretexts for hot-haste legislation were the same. The appeals to popular prejudice were unabated. The stock arguments for persecution remained unaltered, and the inference which common sense drew from these incidents was, that the correlative duty of vigilant suspiciousness survived in all its primitive stringency.

This reasonable policy quietly pursued by the opponents of the Bill produced its natural result in keeping the area of the disturbance within manageable limits. Thanks to this prudent but courageous course of action, the proverbial moderation of the English public has reasserted itself upon the ceremonial question, and it is now very abundantly evident that the agitators, who forced on the Public Worship Bill in the hope of using the incident as a unique opportunity for dealing a crushing blow to the Sacramental party, made themselves the dupes of a confusion of language, from which a broader acquaintance with the history of the Reformed English Church would have saved them. The Bill was what, in the current phraseology of the day, was designated as a Protestant measure, while reciprocally this new experiment in legislation was relied upon to force the Protestant sentiment of England, and that sentiment was invoked alike to float the measure and to intensify its operation. Accordingly the burst of enthusiasm—hysterical and unreal as that may have been—which, after the Bill had so long floundered waterlogged in the Lords, secured its crucial stage of second reading in the House of Commons, amply vindicated the Protestantism both of the measure and of the people. But it in no way followed that this Protestantism meant the same thing as that which the *Record*, the *Rock*, and the Church Association imply by the term. England is no doubt decidedly Protestant now, as it was anti-Papal four hundred years ago, because it dearly values its national life, and its heart throbs with a jealous abhorrence of any interference with that life on the part of overbearing and tyrannous foreigners. But the national fear and dislike of the Pope no more make the country Puritan in the nineteenth century, than the fear and dislike of the Pope made it Lollard in the fifteenth. Those feelings of aversion are undoubtedly much stronger now than they were then, not only because the drift of the Reformation naturally intensified them, and because the execrable policy of the advisers into whose hands Queen Mary threw herself gave tangible proof,

of a kind which a nation does not easily forget, of the miseries of foreign dictation. It was not merely the cruelties which revolted the people, for Englishmen of all religious persuasions had long been familiarised with the *ultima ratio* of burning. It was the conviction, that the wife of Philip of Spain was burning the Queen of England's subjects for the advantage of Philip.

The crimes and blunders of 1553-8 took a century to culminate in the triumph of Puritanism between 1653 and 1658, and then the recoil set in which has left England permeated in every direction with Puritanism, but not intrinsically and as a nation Puritan, such as the violent partisans of the Worship Bill believed the country to be. A Puritan England, such as they deceived themselves into imagining the nation, would not have been a country in which the continuous and traditionary Church of England, with its Hierarchy and its Prayer-Book, could have held on with general acquiescence, even as it presented itself to the popular imagination during the eighteenth century. Hence it was an anachronism to plan a new Puritan reformation, after the Church and the Prayer-Book had asserted themselves as living agencies, for such an attempt carried on its front the alternative either of failure or violence. The small section in the Church whose special practices directly led to the exceptional legislation of last year, were unpopular in proportion as their ceremonial was currently believed to be not only novel, but outlandish. The doings which Protestant England resented were incidents of a presumably foreign growth, and fierce things were said by men who had through a generation been educated to appreciate frequent and solemn communions, continual choral worship, and sumptuous churches adorned with unsparing munificence. These things had become Protestant in their eyes, because they had approved themselves to reasonable and pious minds as the natural exhibition of the national Church acting out its own principles and formularies, and not as things which those minds, with or without sufficient grounds, believed to be the forced obtrusion of illicit importations from the continent. It was inevitable that men, whose real object was the suppression of that which, whether properly Protestant or not, was most assuredly antagonistic to Puritanism, should have been beguiled by the sound and fury into which they had themselves lashed their temporary allies during the excited days of 1874. Had they not, however, wilfully blinded themselves by their own conceit and rancour, they might have been undeceived even upon the morrow of

their unreal triumph. It would have been natural on the part of all who were not somewhat behind the scenes of political life, that is to say, of all the people of England minus a handful, to have quailed before the vehemence of that Wednesday afternoon, when the Bill was rather shouted than read a second time in the House of Commons. For a few days it glared in the popular eye as the manifestation of a new Puritan reformation. But even on that day of excitement some persons could notice the shallowness of the brawling current.

The tumultuous cheering, which accompanied the second reading, had hardly died away, before wiser and larger minded counsels began again to prevail, and it is no exaggeration to assert that a few days were sufficient to show that the career of the Church of England as a monument of wise toleration and of loyal adherence to Catholic antiquity was not drawing to its close. The same House of Commons, which had shut its ears to the pleadings of statesmanlike moderation embodied in the speech of even so general a favourite as Mr. Hardy, which had thrown a savage *væ victis* into the teeth of Mr. Gladstone, and had with unintelligent appreciation sucked in the turgid platitudes of Sir William Harcourt, *ρήμαθ' ἱπποβάμονα*, saturated with the stale outflow of Tudor assumption—that same House of Commons, when it found itself face to face with the details of the Bill, as they were presented in committee, entered on its task with the evidence of a newly awakened intention to consider the various proposals in a spirit of judicial fairness. No doubt the committee were still sufficiently irritable in temper, and hasty in judgment, but the fury of the second reading had been spent, and in several particulars the Commons showed that, ruffled and sore as they might be with the peculiarities of Ritualism, they had no inclination to make themselves the tool of the Puritans. The postponement of the operation of the Act for a year was clear evidence of this freshly developed moderation; so were the refusals to strike out the retrospective condonation of alterations and additions to the fabric, which had existed for five years at the date of the commencement of any suit, or to leave in the rural dean and the non-resident landowner as possible delators. But the strongest proof of this calmer spirit was the adoption by a clear majority, including some of the most eager parliamentary supporters of the Bill, in contrast to the members who bore the Church Association mark—of Mr. Hubbard's manly amendment, specifically reciting neglect of use as equally punishable with excess. The open dis-

content and opposition which this proposal elicited from the special representatives of the Church Association in the House—mostly from Lancashire—was more genuine than politic on their part, for it left them in a minority of 125 to 150; and from that moment, as far as the House of Commons was concerned, the Puritan conspiracy collapsed into an influence after having for a short time worn the mask of a domination. In fact the Act, if worked with impossible rigour and consistency upon the lines of Mr. Hubbard's amendment, would be no measure 'to put down Ritualism,' but one to enforce, with all the stringency attaching to a highly penal statute, that 'Chinese uniformity' in rubrical practices—as Bishop Pepys quaintly termed it—which was the dream of early Tractarians. Canon Robertson, at all events, with his free and easy 'How to conform to the Liturgy,' which was so congenial to the unrevolutionary spirit of Lambeth thirty years since, would have fared badly at the hands of eager and inexperienced Tractarians, as Tractarianism then boasted itself to be, had it possessed so powerful an engine for its objects as the Public Worship Act, as that Act now appears upon the Statute Book.

It must not, however, be supposed that the old spirit had been completely exorcized out of the Committee. In the Bill, as it came down from the Lords, a clause (the 9th) stood, providing that when the Bishop, after considering the whole circumstances of the case, was of opinion that further proceedings should not be taken, he was to state the same in writing, whereupon the matter was to come to an end. This clause came before the Committee on its second day of sitting, July 28. We should imagine that any impartial Jew or Turk, on the matter being explained to him, would have been of opinion that nothing could be more reasonable in an orderly community governed by Bishops, who were presumably men of honesty and sense. This provision was, however, very displeasing to the Puritan party, so Mr. Holt, whose honest and eager support of the principles of that section had gained him the respect of those who most widely differed from his views, moved an amendment, that in case of such refusal on the Bishop's part, the person making the representation should have an appeal to the Archbishop, who would have the power of arbitrarily overruling the decision of his suffragan, and ordering the suit to proceed. The Committee carried this extraordinary proposal by 103 to 37. We must also, in passing, note the obstinacy with which it swept Cathedrals, College Chapels, and the Chapels of the Inns of Court into the net,

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of which the two latter classes were taken out again in the House of Lords. On the consideration of the Report, on July 31, Mr. Gladstone moved the omission of Mr. Holt's amendment in a speech of remarkable power, in which, however, he happened to refer to Van Espen. The opportunity was too much for Sir William Harcourt, to whom grinning through a horse-collar was a pleasurable occupation if only he could be sure of an audience to admire the grin. So he exhausted the resources of his pompous vocabulary in his expressions of contempt for Canonists in general, and Van Espen in particular, as to whom he professed the most complete ignorance, and he was rewarded with the confiding cheers of country gentlemen. Not only did Mr. Hardy speak with spirit and ability in support of Mr. Gladstone's motion, but also Dr. Ball, in words marked by his characteristic juridical acuteness. A decided speech was also made in favour of the amendment by Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, whose support had been so important in passing the Bill. In the course of his remarks he stated: 'The question had been asked on the other side of the House, whether the Archbishops had been consulted on this matter, and he thought that that question ought to be answered. He had had the opportunity of ascertaining the opinion of both the Archbishops on this question, and he was authorized by them to state that their deliberate opinion was decidedly against the amendment made in committee.' In spite, however, of this fact and of all argument, the motion was lost, and Mr. Holt's amendment retained, although by the diminished majority of 118 to 95. On the 4th of August, the Lords were considering the Commons' amendments, and according to ordinary rules of cause and effect it might have been assumed that the Archbishops would have opposed an amendment, as to which they authorized the Home Secretary to state that their deliberate opinion was decidedly against it. What happened, however, was that the Archbishop of Canterbury pleaded in behalf of Mr. Holt's amendment, while he implored the House at all events to accept a compromise, not very felicitously thrown out by the Lord Chancellor, which would give concurrent powers to Archbishop and Bishop. The Archbishop of York followed in the same strain, owing to, while not explaining, Mr. Cross's statement, and urging no better argument than that 'he thought it was hopeless to think of getting the Commons to give up their amendment.' The Bishop of Winchester moved to disagree with the amendment, taking a position which, from the first inception of the unlucky Bill,

churchmen had been vainly hoping to see taken up by some Bishop. He said—

‘He must begin by asking the assent of their lordships to the proposition that the Episcopacy was a Divine institution. There was as strong Scriptural authority for the government of a Bishop in his diocese, as there was historical authority for the fact that Cæsar governed Rome. If he did not believe that the Episcopacy was a Divine institution, he would give up his Episcopate and trample his robe on the ground, because, unless there was Divine authority for the Episcopacy, it would be a mere schismatic act for the Church of England to maintain it, when large religious bodies had felt themselves obliged to give it up, and now looked upon it as being unlawful. Unless the Church of England believed the Episcopacy to be a Divine ordinance, she was acting now schismatically when, by throwing it off, she might bridge over a gulf which was between her and many other religious bodies. Well, then, the very foundation of the Episcopacy was that the Bishop was the ruler and judge of his diocese.’

The Bishop of Lincoln seconded him, and asked—

‘Were their lordships, he should wish to ask, going to establish a Papacy in Canterbury, or were they to have an anti-Pope at York?’

Lord Cairns then read his suggested amendment, which happily fell flat, and after a debate marked by an earnest protest against Mr. Holt’s amendment by Lord Hatherley, and an incisive speech of Lord Salisbury’s, in which he ‘utterly repudiated the bugbear of a majority of the House of Commons,’ the amendment was rejected by 44 to 32. For Mr. Holt’s provision voted the two Archbishops, who had gone out of their way to send a message to the House of Commons disapproving of it. Not one of their suffragans, however, voted with them. The majority comprised the Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Rochester, Chichester, Oxford, Salisbury and Ely. The Bishop of Carlisle also was in the House, intending to vote with his brethren, but had to leave from the lateness of the hour.

The Bill was back again in the Commons the next day, when Mr. Russell Gurney advised the House to accept the decision of the Lords. Sir William Harcourt followed; and, conscious as he was that to divide the House would be a losing game, he delivered himself of an Erastian philippic, on this occasion crammed with quotations from the Canonists, with whom, as he gave the House to understand, he had made himself perfectly familiar in the few days which had elapsed since his last speech, while he also took the opportunity of

thundering against Lord Salisbury, on an absurd charge of having insulted the 'blustering majority' of the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli then recommended submission, while he comforted himself by again flinging out against the Ritualists, and pelting Lord Salisbury with 'chaff,' such as a Prime Minister very seldom bestows on an important colleague.

The next and most remarkable speech was from Mr. Gladstone, who administered a punishment to Sir William Harcourt, such as it has seldom fallen to the lot of any member to receive from another, and never before to an ex-Solicitor-General from the statesman to whom, as Prime Minister, he had owed his appointment. There was, of course, no division, while the closing events, some painful and others burlesque, of the parliamentary career of the Worship Bill were not such as to clothe it with much factitious importance, or to heighten the respect with which it would be treated by its intended victims. An ambiguous promise, differently understood, still stood over like a bad debt to trouble in anticipation the Session of 1875. Mr. Lowe impulsively suggested that the Bill should apply to moral and doctrinal as well as Ritual offences. In this he was supported by High Churchmen, for one of the greatest grievances attaching to the measure was the inevitable inference that its authors regarded an offence against the Rubric as more heinous than one against the Decalogue or the Creed. Whatever might have been the abstract merits of Mr. Lowe's suggestion, there was clearly no time to carry it out. So the matter dropped, but not until the Recorder had promised to legislate in the sense of the proposal in the coming Session. What Mr. Lowe, Mr. Russell Gurney, and the High Churchmen who supported him, all meant, was simply to extend the procedure created by the Bill to all ecclesiastical offences, and so do away with the invidiousness of the partial application. The vulgar idea had, however, got abroad, that the promise implied a Bill to define and alter doctrine, and the consequent panic was naturally considerable. We shall see further on how completely this alarm has collapsed in the total absence of ecclesiastical legislation which has marked the Session of 1875.

Anxious as we have been to offer a connected sketch of the parliamentary vicissitudes which marked the progress of the Bill, we have refrained from noticing in its place an incident which has had a marked and salutary effect on the whole progress of ecclesiastical affairs in the last and the present year. The healthy instincts of English churchmanship

were never more conspicuously shown than in the general feeling (which was indeed a potent factor in the decision to postpone the date of the Bill for a year) in favour of taking the opinions of the Convocations upon the debated Rubrics. It was not so many years since Convocation had been a dead formality, and it continued to be the butt of much ignorant and ill-natured sarcasm, still it was the Church's constitutional assembly, and so the constitutional feelings of Englishmen accepted it as the one body which could be of help in the emergency. It had had Royal letters of business a short time since, and the new Lectionary and the shortened Services Act was the result. Why not try again a similar experiment? But would the present Ministry give the letters of business? Yes, was the answer, as soon as the Archbishops chose to ask for them. There was no doubt a general idea that the step taken would, by this time, have resulted in a reformed book of Rubrics. It has really ended in the Rubrics being left as they are, but the very fact of a result so contrary to anticipation having been reached with general contentment proves the wisdom of the only course, by which the really calm mind of the Church could have been tentatively reached.

On the Convocation of Canterbury setting to work in the summer of 1874, with its letters of business before it, a risk of something, which we will not call a collision, but which was certainly a difference of views between the two Houses, was for a short time not beyond the bounds of possibility. While the reference to it was formally that of the whole body of Rubrics, its chief practical intention, as every one knew, was to invite a consideration of, and, if possible, to reach a compromise upon two Rubrics, which had become the battlefield of the votaries of the higher and the lower form of worship—the Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration affecting the position of, the Ornaments Rubric affecting the dress of, the Celebrant. A concordat on these points would rob the Public Worship Act of its most grim terrors; licence to the Puritans to use its new powers, to enforce their reading of those ceremonies, would be war to the knife. Considerable apprehension was accordingly felt, so long as it was feared that pressure from above might be put upon the Committee, which the Lower House had appointed on the Rubrics, to take them all seriatim. The danger, however, blew over; and, although the Committee had upon the prorogation of Convocation done little, that little was understood to be in a satisfactory direction. A motion somewhat unexpectedly made by the

Bishop of Lincoln in the Upper House, and not unsupported by some of his colleagues, for the recognition of a distinctive dress, fell through, but it had its value as indicating sympathy with the moderate ceremonial party upon a matter, on which a very few years before no encouragement from the prelacy would have been anticipated.

Although its Committee sat during the recess, the public action of Convocation closed for 1874. New agencies now came on the scene. Every one who has studied the revival of life in the Church of England must have appreciated the use which has been made of the once obsolete office and area of Rural Dean and Deanery as the means of half-formal deliberations of clergy and laity. The Bishops, accordingly, conceived the practical idea that as a rough and ready way of reaching the mind of the Church of England upon the pending controversy, these bodies might well be consulted, and showed commendable activity in giving effect to the suggestion. Unluckily, in the most important diocese of all, the simple suggestion was crossed by a vague proposal to 'balance' some concession as to dress and position with a surrender of the *status in quo* of the Athanasian Creed and the Communion Service. The result of this popular appeal to the Church was, we imagine, but little anticipated by many who fancied they possessed the best opportunities of testing its mind. The question was put in so many different ways in different dioceses, and the constitutions of the different deliberative bodies were so various, that a numerical poll would have been impossible, but the strong and wide-spread feeling of what appeared the majority of the clergy in favour of concessions on the side of liberty as to position and dress, was very noticeable, while nothing like a feeling on the other side which could be made use of by the Church Association was elicited from the laity. The only other opinion, which had a strong representation through the dioceses, was that of keeping the Rubrics absolutely as they are. Sometimes, of course, this implied the hope and expectation that they would favour the high side, sometimes the low. Of one thing, from the Land's End to the North Foreland, and from that to Berwick, there was no trace—one recommendation found no place out of all the variety of resolutions. The suggestion of altering the Rubrics in a Puritan sense was nowhere. The action of the deaneries of Canterbury was peculiarly important on account of the particular challenge there thrown out, and in that diocese a majority of the clergy declared in favour of moderate concession, and all against the suggested balancing.

In anticipation of the re-assembling of Convocation, petitions to the Convocations of both provinces, of clergy and of lay communicants, signed by 3,860 of the former, and 71,250 of the latter, including members of both Houses of Parliament and other persons of position, were drawn up, praying that the Church Legislature would—

‘maintain the integrity of the Book of Common Prayer as settled in 1662; and, further, that, in any explanations which you may deem it needful to propose touching the Rubrics of the said Book, provision be made for the retention of such Ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof as were prescribed by and used under the Prayer-Book of 1549, and which your Petitioners humbly represent are in their judgment lawful under the present Act of Uniformity.

‘At the same time, your Petitioners strongly deprecate the enforcement of things which have long been in abeyance, upon unwilling clergy and congregations.’

These figures may very well contrast with the sixty thousand names, not of communicants, which the Church Association placed in the hands of the Archbishops in 1873, and of the equally promiscuous address which it produced during the last season. A Declaration, somewhat ostentatiously pushed by Mr. Scott Robertson, a clergyman of the diocese of Canterbury, carried with it the peculiarity of stating in its substance that it merely professed to ‘deeply deplore any fresh legislation whereby authoritative sanction might be given to such use of the Eastward position,’ (*i.e.* one ‘not in accordance with the teaching of the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England’), ‘and of a distinctive Eucharistic dress,’ while its promoter, in an access of candid levity, publicly recommended it as one absolutely against the Eastward position. Such as it was, it secured 5,376 signatures, made up on the one hand of the Puritan phalanx, and on the other of quiet-minded clergymen, moderately high or moderately low, who simply intended to express their fears of the disturbances which they anticipated from any alteration of the Rubrics. On the whole, High Churchmen were grateful to Mr. Scott Robertson for taking the trouble of presenting them with a muster-roll of their opponents, and of his contingent of neutrals, while the numbers of those who, out of a body of 20,000 clergy, gave their names to so inclusive and seductive a document, very clearly showed how much of brag, and how little of proof, underlay the clamorous assertions of the Church Association.

The year 1875 opened auspiciously for peace, for at a Dio-
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cesan Conference held at Maidstone, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in marked contrast to the tone, with which he had handled similar topics in the preceding session, spoke warmly of the general loyalty of the clergymen of the Church of England, expressed his belief that not a single extreme man could be found in his diocese, and offered the excuse of youth for those who might in any case have gone too far. He said something more. Easter was early, and no man in his senses wished for or expected another Ecclesiastical Session this year. The Convocation of Canterbury was accordingly not to meet till after Easter, with the express intention that it might have nothing ready as to the Rubrics on which the Legislature could busy itself in 1875. That such a policy could be proposed, that its proposer could have been the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that it could have been received with universal acquiescence, was a reversal of all that had been said or done, feared or hoped, in 1874, as complete as it had been rapid. Parliament met, and did not bely the hopes of the peace-makers; somebody asked the Recorder if he intended to bring in the expected Bill affecting Doctrine and Discipline; he said he did not, and assigned some popular reason. The House cheered, and the matter dropped for the session.

The Archbishop of York, however, saw no reason for delaying the Northern Convocation, and so it met on February 23, and plunged at once into the vexed question of the minister's position and dress. A resolution moved by the Dean of Chester declaring it to be 'at present unnecessary and inexpedient to recommend any alteration of the said Rubrics' (those affecting these practices), was the first conclusion reached. Afterwards one Bishop and thirty members of the Lower House voted for, three Bishops and eighteen members of the Lower House against, the following motion by the Bishop of Carlisle:

'That the following addition be made to what is commonly called the "Black Rubric."

"And whereas undue importance has been by some attributed to the position of the priest in the saying the Prayer of Consecration, as though that position had some peculiar doctrinal significance, it is hereby declared that no peculiar doctrinal significance ought to be or is intended by the Church of England to be attributed to such position."

The upshot of this was, that the Northern Convocation, which had been commonly supposed to be far from favourable to the High Church side, unmistakeably declared by a large

majority in favour of toleration, while among its members, whose votes were recorded in a contrary sense, was found the name of its President, the Archbishop of York.

We now reach an incident, which might have seriously disturbed the brightening prospects. We are unfeignedly sorry to have to refer to a document bearing date March 1, but our narrative would be incomplete and untruthful if we were to pass it over. The troubles of 1874 had begun in a caucus of the Bishops, meeting not in their constitutional character of the Upper Houses of the two Convocations, but as a private and self-constituted assembly. Things were beginning to recover themselves in the fact of the Episcopate reassuming its constitutional attitude. At that date the whole Ritual question was actually before the Bishops as legislators. Convocation had been prorogued, and was about to meet again, upon it. Many, too, of the suffragans had broken the thralldom by their bold vote on the archiepiscopal veto. Under such circumstances the suggestion would have been incredible, till it became true, that the Episcopate could not wait till after Easter, but must again tempt fortune by a joint and extra-legal utterance. One thing would have justified such a Pastoral as they then put out—abnormal courage or wisdom. To these qualities, however, we fear the document could not lay much claim. The persons addressed were the 'Clergy and Laity,' and the subject the Ritual crisis. The intention of the Right Reverend Authors, we fully admit, was excellent, namely, to preserve the peace, while the paper had the negative merits of not patting the Church Association on the back, nor of blowing the trumpet of the Public Worship Regulation Act; but the way in which it handled the position of the High Church party showed the inadequate grasp of things as they are, which marked its authorship. That which above everything else has entered as iron into the soul of the revived High Church party, not merely of the Ritualists moderate or extreme, but of the whole Tractarian succession, of the party whose new lease of life began in 1833, is—to be patronized. One thing it never will stand, namely, to be talked of as a difficulty—attenuated by excuses, or gilded with flattery, as that imputation may be. The party knows that after all abatements have been made, and all its blunders and faults recorded, it remains a fact of which few parallels are to be found in the ecclesiastical history of the world. It knows that it has changed the face of the Church of England for good or for evil; it is conscious that it is *bonum in se*, or *malum in se*. It forgave Bishop Sumner of Chester, when he declared the

Tractarian movement the work of Satan, for he spoke in the fulness of an honest conviction. It was grateful to Bishop Phillpotts for his recognition of its work and position in his Pastoral of 1851, elicited by a joint address of nearly all the Episcopate similar to the recent production. But the united Episcopate of 1875, face to face with this High Church party, knowing it to be very sore with the events of the preceding year, could find nothing more politic to say than, without daring to pass its name, to lecture and to criticize and to patronize it in sentences, which, with all their artificial balance, would be sure to give a handle to the evil-disposed to say that the High Church party was, by the Bishops' own confession, a difficulty, of which the best was to be made.

They had, of course, no wish to see the Bishops coming forward on their behalf with any partisan manifesto. Their principle is that, within the laws of the Church, elastically interpreted, all parties have a right to fair play, and of this the Bishops, as administrative officers, are the umpires. But there was as little impartiality as courage in joining in a paper, which was made possible by its various signers veiling their personal convictions in a cloud of words, which were not only meaningless, but ambiguous and misleading. Especially the proceeding was absolutely unpractical, for, at a time when 'what will he do?' was a question asked about each Bishop, the document did not convey the slightest intimation of the line which all or any of them intended to take on the Public Worship Act, or any other matter. The one thing certain was, that as many lines could be taken as there were names appended to the Pastoral, and yet that it would be impossible to say that any Bishop acted more or less consistently with it than any other. High Churchmen, to whom the Episcopate is, on principle, the centre of the Church system, were peculiarly pained at seeing that the conjoint deliberation of those whom they were so deeply bound to respect, merely resulted in a flux of unreal words.

The document begins with glowing expressions of gratitude to the Almighty for the work of the last forty years—'churches built, restored, and endowed,' new parishes, vast sums voluntarily contributed for religious education, 'extension of the Church in the colonies and in foreign countries,' fifty new sees, 'the great increase in the number of persons of all classes, who by prayers and labour assist in the work of converting souls to Christ, all bear witness to the zeal and earnestness of the clergy and laity of the English Church, an earnestness and zeal which we rejoice to know is by no means

confined to any section or party.' The scene then changes to the 'serious evils which disturb the peace of the Church,' and the Right Reverend Writers, with portentous inconsistency, marshal to the forefront that stale accusation of the Church Association and *The Times*—'the interruption of the sympathy and mutual confidence which ought to subsist between the laity and clergy,' arising as it seems 'from changes in the mode of performing Divine service.' How the flagrant discrepancy of this imputation with the paradisaical picture painted in the first paragraph could have escaped the writers is not our business to explain. Assuming that picture to be true, the subsequent charge, in the exaggerated prominence which its place in the Pastoral gives to it, must be cruelly overdrawn. Instances here and there of the evil we grant without dispute, but they can only be here and there, or 'the zeal and earnestness of the clergy and laity of the English Church,' independent of 'section or party,' would only be a figure of speech. The next evil is the refusal to 'obey legitimate authority.' Not only clergymen fail to obey Bishops, but—and here comes in *sprete injuria formæ*—'obedience has been avowedly refused to the highest judicial interpretation of the law of this Church and realm.' Their lordships forgot to add that the court referred to had been snuffed out by the House of Commons without a dissentient voice, and that the Lord Chancellor had emphatically stated in Parliament how difficult it was to reconcile its jarring judgments. A deeper depravity is reached in the 'growing tendency to associate doctrinal signification with rites and ceremonies which do not necessarily involve it,' although these may as necessarily not be inconsistent with such signification, and though the doctrine signified may be that of the Church of England. A reference then follows 'to manuals of doctrine and private devotion inconsistent with our reformed Church,' of which we will only say that if the Bishops knew of such, they should have named them, and not thrown suspicion on a whole class of pious writings by so vague a reference, which was certain to be laid hold of by unscrupulous polemics on the other side.

Further on the old congratulatory tone returns. 'The number of those, who would refuse such reasonable obedience, is small.' 'The vast majority of the clergy and laity of the Church of England are thoroughly loyal to its doctrine and discipline.' 'Overstrained uniformity' is repudiated, and 'wise comprehensiveness' upheld. So, after all, this measured denunciation, which unites the signatures of all the Bishops of

both provinces, with one exception in each, is aimed at a small number of delinquents, while the language in which it is couched is calculated to foment the vulgar and partisan opposition against the entire High Church party. The reflexion, which naturally occurred to members of that party—that in this age of wide-spread materialism and scepticism the conjoint Episcopate, if seized with a desire to publish pastorals, might have found something more appropriate to write about—was not calculated to sweeten the potion. The contexture, too, of its authorship was not such as to increase its practical effect. Names no doubt stood at the end of it, from whom, what it did, or did not, say about the High Church party, must be taken as extreme politeness. But there were other honoured names of men, not so many years before working High Church priests, and at their hands old fellow-labourers might have looked for other retrospects and variant exhortations. We have observed that two Bishops refused to sign. The Bishop of Salisbury, as it appeared from a circular to his archdeacons—in which, however, as was natural, he refrained from too sharply criticizing the handiwork of his brethren—read over the paper as a whole with the eye of an old High Churchman, and found out the mistake. There was no ambiguity, on the other hand, as to the reasons which prevented the Bishop of Durham from signing. His own explanation is, 'I readily allow that the address is amiable and well-intentioned, and quite as distinct in its note of warning as could be expected from a bench itself divided in opinion; but it is because it utters so uncertain a sound, shrinks from condemning with outspoken faithfulness the grave errors which are being propagated by many ministers of our Church, and by its undecided tone will prove a great discouragement to the many clergy, and still more numerous laymen, who have been earnestly contending for the faith of the Protestant Reformed Church of England, that I have found myself unable to append my signature.'

We gladly pass from this Pastoral. High Churchmen generally (pained as they were at it) refrained from any open expression of discontent, and it soon fell into an oblivion, out of which we have only for the moment drawn it for the sake of historical completeness. We have referred to the important part which the diocese of Canterbury played in the rural-decanal meetings of last autumn. Among its rural deans Mr. Jeffreys stood prominent, and on a vacancy occurring in one of the diocesan proctorships shortly before Easter, he came forward as a candidate, on the confessed principle of toleration,

both for the Eastward position and the Eucharistic dress. The other side of course met so direct a challenge, but Mr. Jeffreys won by 129 to 107. This was the last noteworthy incident before Convocation reassembled. The Lower House of Canterbury, with which alone, so far as the April sittings are concerned, we need now interest ourselves, proceeded after some preliminary sparring to consider a recommendation of toleration as to the Eastward position prepared by its committee. This was introduced in a speech by Canon Gregory, demonstrating by a large mass of evidence that the impugned position had never really died out in the Church of England. The debate was full, free, and peaceable, and therefore satisfactory, and finally the House unanimously accepted a modification of the original resolution proposed by Mr. Jeffreys, who thus early justified the choice of the Metropolitan Diocese. This ran as follows:—

‘That this House, having regard to the fact of the existing widespread diversity of practice with reference to the position of the celebrant in the administration of the Holy Communion, is convinced that it will be most for the welfare of the Church that such diversity be not disturbed, provided that in cases where changes are made and disputes arise it be left to the Ordinary to determine which practice shall be adopted.

‘And further, this House declares that by this resolution no sanction is intended to be given to any doctrine other than what is set forth in the Prayer-Book and Articles of the Church of England.’

With this the April work of the Convocation at Canterbury practically ended. We have already given the conclusion of the Convocation of York on the same subject, reached rather earlier in the year.

The Convocation of Canterbury met again on the 29th of June, when Canon Gregory, reappearing as the mouthpiece of the Committee, moved its resolutions regarding the Eucharistic dress, which ultimately passed in the following form (the earlier clauses having been carried unanimously, and the last by 56 to 21), and with this preamble—

‘In the event of action being taken by legislation or otherwise with respect to the Ornaments Rubric or the Rubrics governing the position of the minister during the celebration of the Holy Communion, this House recommends that such action be based upon the following resolutions—

[Here follow the resolutions on the celebrant’s position, adopted in April, which we have just given.]

‘That in consideration of the long disuse of certain of the vestures

specified in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., and referred to in the Ornaments Rubric, this House recommends—

‘First: That in celebrating the Holy Communion, as well as at all other times of his ministration, it shall suffice that the minister do wear a surplice, with the addition of a stole or scarf, and of the hood of his degree; and that in preaching the minister do wear a surplice, with stole or scarf and the hood of his degree, or, if he think fit, a gown, hood, and scarf.

‘Second: That the other vestures specified in the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. shall not be brought into use in any Church, other than a Cathedral or Collegiate Church, without the previous consent of the Bishop.

‘And it is hereby declared, that by this resolution no sanction is intended to be given to any doctrine other than is set forth in the Prayer-Book and Articles of the Church of England.

‘That this House advises, in the event of legislation, that the words suggested in Schedule C. be appended to the Ornaments Rubric.

‘SCHEDULE C.

‘*The Ornaments Rubric and the Proposed Addition to the same.*

“And here it is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.,” to be supplemented by the following words—

“Until further order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen’s Majesty, with the approval of Parliament, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Synods, or Convocations of Canterbury and York.”

No time was lost in sending the important resolutions of the April and June meetings to the Upper House, which, with remarkable promptitude, dealt with them in the following resolution, moved by the Bishop of London—

‘That this House acknowledges the careful and patient consideration which the Lower House has given the difficult subjects of the Ornaments Rubric and the Rubrics governing the position of the minister during the celebration of Holy Communion, but, believing legislation on these points to be at the present time neither desirable nor practicable, does not deem it expedient now to discuss the course which any such legislation should take, or the principles according to which it should be regulated.’

On this action of the Upper House we have no hesitation in saying, that we consider it to have adopted the right policy, but to have shaped that policy in needlessly abrupt and ungracious terms. It was, so to speak, the charitable hypothesis underlying the reference to Convocation of the Ritual question involved in the letters of business, that

parliamentary legislation was to follow. Convocation, as a constitutional and legislative body, could only act on this hypothesis and save its self-respect. The supposition was, so to speak, the canvas which had been given to it to paint its picture on. Still, no sane man in his heart of hearts desired questions like the Eastward position and the Eucharistic dress to be tossed on the floor of the House of Commons. Bishops and Lower House alike knew and felt that. It was therefore presuming somewhat on the accident of their position, for the Upper House to *pose* themselves, as if they were the only wise statesmen, and the other House impracticable dreamers. The wise and generous reception of those resolutions would have been to acknowledge that the Lower House were bound by the reference to presume legislation, to acknowledge in fuller terms than those which were chosen their industry and moderation, and then to have given the reasons, in which all wise men would have concurred, for the conviction that present legislation was not desirable. It was further to be regretted that in the debate which ensued, the Primate did not keep himself within the lines of conciliation, which he had so felicitously laid down at Maidstone a few months previously. Before we pass from Convocation we may notice that besides its treatment of the burning question, it devoted much labour in both Houses to a general revision of the Rubrics founded on the suggestions of the fourth report of the Ritual Commission. This work has, of course, collapsed in the general repudiation of legislation, but it is worth observing how substantial a contribution it would have been to the liturgical cause, in the freedom, variety, and colour, which it would have added to the use of the Prayer-Book and the carrying out of the Christian year. Might not such a development as this, promoted by the Church representative, be a higher and truer gain than many a ceremonial dubiously sustained by private judgment?

Such was the progress of events which led to the improved tone of public feeling, characterized by the absence of any excitement, as the first of July came round, but we are not left without positive demonstration of the satisfactory fact. If any impartial bystander had been asked to name some locality, in which the Act would be likely to make itself felt in all the rudeness of uninstructed prejudice, he would without doubt have named some such ill-welded congeries of human life as Lambeth—a teeming hive of population, a parliamentary fact, but yet no civic unit, a seat of every most

discordant type of worship, from the highest to the lowest ceremonial allowed within the Establishment and from S. George's Cathedral to Mr. Newman Hall's Chapel and Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle: a very focus he would have assumed of clique and jealousy.

Yet to their great credit the churchwardens of Lambeth, officially collected together at the call of a few of their least wise members, came to a decision which, from the circumstances under which it was reached, is so interesting and indeed important, that we venture to reprint a report of their meeting from the *Standard* of July 14:—

‘THE PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT IN LAMBETH.—A conference was held last evening at the Vestry Hall, Lambeth, of the wardens and sidesmen of the district churches, “to consider the Act for the better administration of the laws respecting the regulation of public worship.” The invitation to assemble was signed by Messrs. Barker, Burrup, and Charles White, and about five-and-twenty Church officers responded to the call. Mr. Burrup took the chair, and Mr. Barker explained that he and his colleagues had, after much consideration, arrived at the conclusion that, in the interests of peace, it would be well to form an association of churchwardens and sidesmen. Very few churchwardens were acquainted with either their powers or their duties, and as, under Clause 8 of the new Act, they had cast upon them officially the power of putting the new Act into operation, a consultative association would be most valuable. He concluded by moving a resolution to that effect. Mr. Mercer, churchwarden of S. Philip's, Kennington Road, pointed out that Clause 8 did not impose on churchwardens any duty to initiate prosecutions; and that when any such action was commenced it would rest entirely with the bishop whether it should go on. Considering that, in Lambeth, the churches in their ritual ranged from the highest to the lowest, it was obvious that any steps taken would be at once met by retaliatory action; and any association formed to carry out the new Act would only introduce confusion and strife where there might be peace and harmony. He considered the Bill would prove very useful as a cheaper and speedier remedy for other evils besides those of extreme ritual, as he knew a case in which it cost a churchwarden between 500*l.* and 600*l.* to get rid of an incumbent addicted to intemperance. But he strongly objected to such an association as that proposed. Mr. Powell, churchwarden of S. Stephen's, Lambeth, said that the district parishes were so entirely separated from the mother church that he declined to accept the guidance of the churchwardens of S. Mary's, Lambeth, in any matter whatever. He agreed with his vicar, the Rev. Canon Titcomb, in thinking that great toleration must be exercised before any action was taken under the new law. The churchwardens of All Saints', Lower Marsh, and of S. Matthew's, Denmark Hill, both opposed the idea of an association, and the latter pointed out that the Act did not make the least difference in

the law, but only simplified the mode of procedure.—After some further discussion, in which the present movement was stigmatized as unwise and impracticable, the chairman declared the meeting at an end, the motion not having found a seconder.'

This report is so self-explanatory that we forbear from offering any criticisms. Mr. Mercer and Mr. Powell are to us only names, and so in recognizing the moderate common sense of average practical Englishmen in what they said, we are probably able to form a more just and impartial estimate of the value of this meeting of metropolitan churchwardens, than if we had found it guided by speakers with known antecedents.

Do we, however, mean to imply that there is no longer any danger ahead, either from the fanaticism of some among the Puritans, or from the recklessness of some among the ultra-Ritualists? We should be false prophets and mischievous counsellors if we were to make any such assertion. How gravely we look upon either source of danger, we will not here expound; for the topic is one which can only be properly handled with a fulness of explanation, for which this Article hardly affords a sufficient margin. When we state that our own stand-point is that of progressive English High Churchmen of Tractarian extraction, who will neither admit that the modern Ritualists can show any right to dictate to their more prudent and more Anglican and national brother High Churchmen—nor that those High Churchmen are justified in abandoning the Ritualists, because of some waywardness, to the ravages of the Puritan wolf, we have said a great deal more than if we had attempted to formalize our precise views in a schedule of balanced articles. The Purchas judgment may have been a miscarriage of justice; without constituting this or that opposing champion of its *dicta* a judicious leader of men. The intention of the Public Worship Regulation Act in the hands of its most violent promoters may have been to make the traditionary Catholic worship of the Church of England an impossibility, without elevating the *Directorium Anglicanum* to the dignity of a trustworthy authority for the details of that worship. Certainly Andrews, Cosin, and Wilson lived before either Act was passed or *Directorium* penned: by their calm witness from the tomb, rather than by the feverish brawlings of a present strife, we may fairly claim to have our contestation judged.

A few words more in season. Generalship does not consist in Homeric denunciations of the enemy, nor in striking blows in reckless unconcern as to the advantage with which they may be returned. Above all things it is not to be found in the

artificial emphasis, which arbitrarily picks out a few incidents from a large and varied field, some of them almost seeming to have been preferred from the narrowness of the practical support on which they can at present rely, and thrusts them forward in their unity as the question on which battle is sought, thus discounting an entire campaign, in which, with ordinary prudence, defeat upon all points would be morally impossible, in the issue of a single struggle in which the reserves are wantonly put in the front to bear the first and heaviest onslaught. This was not the policy, under which during the last forty years the idea of a higher type of worship has grown up through the parishes of the land. This movement germinated under various forms in various places. Here one advance was made good and there another, until at last the wanting harmony was consolidated out of innumerable local experiments.

Such was emphatically the case in regard to the ceremonial, which by universal consent holds at once the foremost and the most secure place in the present controversy—the Eastward position of the celebrant. The wide extension of the practice, which, as Canon Gregory conclusively proved to Convocation, had never died out in the Church of England, was due to no preconcerted arrangement or authoritative instructions from head-quarters. One by one, in county after county, this clergyman after the other had reached the conviction, that in standing before the Table he acted most truthfully both to primitive practice and to the ritual law of the Church of England. Thus imperceptibly had the number of those who took the Eastward position swelled to a wide multitude. The parishioners in each case accepted the change with more or less of intelligence, but in no instance which has come to our knowledge, in a suspicious or resentful spirit; while Archbishop Longley declared that to attempt to interfere with it would produce exasperation. At last the construction of the rubric before the Prayer of Consecration came under the cognizance of the Judicial Committee, and in the Mackonochie judgment,—a judgment remarkable for the stringency with which the obligation of literal conformity was pressed home—Lord Cairns used language, which the whole world read as favouring the position before the Holy Table, and which, from what he said in the House of Lords, must have been his own intention. Naturally the number of Eastward celebrants notably increased, and in fact that position had become the accredited usage of High-Church worship, and it was still peace. At this moment the Purchas judgment, delivered in an undefended

suit, supervened, and all in an instant was confusion. The unexpectedness of the event no doubt contributed to the consternation. But a judgment might have been unexpected, and yet so cogent in its arguments as to stop the mouths of gainsayers. Unhappily, however, with the best desires to show themselves obedient to authority, the persons principally interested were unable to square the latest conclusions of the Privy Council with history, law, or preceding decisions of the same tribunal. There were not wanting counsellors to urge upon them, that although the decision really only affected the one Mr. Purchas, yet their path of duty lay along the course of simple obedience, until the case could be re-tried with the advantage of counsel. But the Puritan fuglemen, with greedy hurry, blocked the way to any possible negotiation.

They had stumbled into so much more than they had ever expected to get, that they were proportionately determined not to lose so great an advantage. The judgment was not the law only, it was the law of the Medes and Persians—aye, and of the Pope himself, infallible and 'irreformable.' The man who still led his flock at the highest worship was no true shepherd, but a rebel and a traitor. Thus driven into a corner, the thousands of clergy and the unreckonable laity whom the decision of the Purchas judges had cruelly smitten, simply found their course marked out for them by the perversity of their opponents. They were conscious, that in taking that position they best carried out Rubrics, in which even the other side could not pretend not to find great difficulties. They realized that in their action they most aptly reconciled primitive antiquity and the teaching of the Reformed Church of England as expressed in the Communion Office and Catechism and explained in the writings of such divines as Ken, and Patrick, and Wilson, and so to have given in to the turbulent menaces of exultant Puritanism would simply have been to have owned themselves guilty of the injurious imputations freely thrown against them.

We have indulged in this digression upon the motives and position of those who feel that upon the Eastward position there can be no compromise, and whose conviction was not obscurely accepted by Lord Cairns in the debates of 1874, because without a clear view of this question it would be impossible to arrive at correct conclusions upon the policy which Churchmen may be bound to assume as to other details of ceremonial.

The causes which have conspired to give its exceptional importance to the Eastward position have been partly of an

external and partly an internal character; and it has, so to speak, come ready made in its present prominence to the hand of those, on whom the obligation of defending it weighs with exceptional stringency. Can we say the same of the schedule of the six points (position, vestments, lights, mixed chalice, incense, wafer bread) emphatically upheld by the more extreme section of the Ritualists as the minimum in defence of which civil war with all its evils must be faced, or even of the four points (*i.e.* the above list minus the two last-named heads), on which the more moderate insist? While we shall not burden our pages by travelling back on the history of these revivals, we must premise by explaining how we sympathize with the four points in themselves, and how strongly we feel that much of the present distempered condition of the Church atmosphere proceeds from the timid blundering of our ecclesiastical authorities, who were unable to agree upon some ritual concordat founded on the temperate report of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury in 1866, presided over by Dr. Goodwin, now Bishop of Carlisle, in which a regulated permission of vestments, altar-lights, and incense was pointed at, while the position and the mixed chalice were not even called into question.

Our present controversy is not with these points or any of them taken by themselves, but with them as rolled together into one category and menacingly levelled at the head of the adversary. This is on the face of it most questionable generalship, for it is not merely to risk all upon a single venture, but to proclaim to the other side what is your own strategy or want of strategy. It is to draw the plan of a campaign in which everything is to depend upon a single battle, and then to make the plan a present to the long-headed tacticians in the opposing camp.

These are considerations, which require a somewhat careful examination, and it will not be waste of time to enter upon a dispassionate review of the actual condition of the so-called four points, in order to show the equal unreason of those who insist on lumping them together, as their life-and-death cause, and of those who think their Protestantism is at stake in repudiating the entire list. Each of those obstinate parties is simply doing its little best to break up the Church of England, while it is alike the interest of the reconcileable High and the reconcileable Low Churchman to investigate each point, and as many more as may crop up, upon its own independent merits. We believe that any one, who will look at these four ceremonials in this spirit, will be quite be-

wildered to explain how the rulers of the Church—a very representative committee, as every one must own, and containing many men of marked ability—should not have appreciated that to put out a specific *modus vivendi* on these questions would be a rather more timely proceeding, than to set their names to a Pastoral which was irritating in proportion as it was benevolently unmeaning. The Eastward position, after the Purchas remonstrance, after Lord Cairns's speech, after the resolution of the Convocation of York and the unanimous one of that of Canterbury in 1875, and after the Purchas judgment itself, must be recognized as an open question, under risk of future evils which we decline to particularize. The mixture of the chalice is in no sense a public ceremony, while the associations, which make it dear to those who practise the rite, are of so sensitively sacred a character that we could hardly conceive a regime so paternal in its spirit as to continue to interfere with the quiet practice of the mixture.

But when we come to the question of altar-lights, we find ourselves face to face with conditions of legalized irrationality, from which even the most inflexible and least tactical section of ultra-Ritualists ought to have drawn advantages, of which they seem all along to have been totally unaware. To listen to their passionate protests, one could imagine that they were contending at desperate odds, and in face of a furious opposition, in favour of the Catholic principles, which were involved in the presence of the lights upon the altar. What, in our judgment, they should rather have been demonstrating for as many years back as they have been in existence as a distinct squadron of the High Church host, was that in the universal legalization of candle-bearing candlesticks, with specified conditions of lawful lighting, upon the Holy Table, which has been the unquestionable rule of the English Church ever since Dr. Lushington's unappealed judgment in the Westerton and Liddell suit, every possible principle which can be involved in so-called altar-lights has been conceded; and therefore, that all for which they are now contending is to give to this principle a consistent and decorous instead of an incomplete and illogical expression. The ruling sanction for the legality of these lights in our actual Church is to be found in Edward VI.'s well-known Injunction, which lays down that they symbolize Christ as the very true light of the world, while the explanation given of their number refers to His two natures. With these two lights only we are concerned, for although some people indulge in many

more on their altars, the Church at large ought not to be taxed with the defence of a custom which, whether or not beautiful, is one which really rests upon private judgment.

The existing limitation is that these 'lights' shall only be lighted when light is physically wanted, and the inference sought to be drawn is, that they are therefore merely two candles casually set down somewhere for use at the hours when the sun will not help for the reading of the Prayer-Book. The answer to this allegation only fails in being if possible too physically complete and obvious for immediate acceptance. If these candles were intended to help at the services when there was no daylight, they would have been placed anywhere but upon the Lord's Table. Candles in that position in no way assist the sight either of the congregation in the nave or of the clerks in the stalls. The only person or persons to whom they can be of any use are the ministers at the Lord's Table—and no ministers are recognized standing at it except during the Holy Communion. So by an exhaustive process these altar-lights can only be materially useful at celebrations. They are oftenest lighted at evensong, but then for the reasons we have given they are obviously ornamental and symbolical, as showing forth upon the Lord's Table that Christ in His two natures is the very true light of the world, the 'light to lighten the Gentiles' who is in that very service commemorated. During celebration, except very early in the morning, upon dark days, or in dark churches, they ought, according to Dr. Lushington, to stand unlighted, and here is the illogical part of the case. If the decree of the Judge had been that they were never to be placed upon the Holy Table except at the services, when they were to be lighted, the utilitarian theory would have been possible. The Judge decreed just the contrary, and that theory fails accordingly. The candlesticks with unlighted candles standing at celebration upon the Holy Table can only be there as ornaments alike in the technical and the popular meaning of the word. But what must be the sense of such ornaments? Obviously the same sense, though less perfectly expressed, which would accompany the lighted candles, namely, the signification of Christ as the light of the world, shown forth not in the candle burning, but in the stationary candle with its potentiality of giving light. The verdict of common sense must be that the men, who crave to light those candles which they thus use, are petitioners for the complete and logical development of a legalized usage. The law as now interpreted may be against them, and policy may bid them to desist, but ab-

stract congruity is on their side. At the same time the incongruous custom, of which no man can deprive them, involves the whole symbolism at issue. In this state of matters it is as inconceivable that the ultra-legalists should not shut their eyes to the lighted candles, as that the ultra-ceremonialists should, in their hot heat to carry all, deliberately throw away the impregnable position of a principle conceded, although under imperfect forms.

The distinctive Eucharistic dress is the only one remaining of the four points, and here too the Puritan party has manœuvred itself into conceding the principle at stake, and the Ritualists into not recognizing or utilizing that concession. The principle is that of a higher and more ornamental dress for the celebrant at the Holy Communion than for the minister at other current ministrations, out of regard to the higher dignity of the 'Holy Mystery.' Its advocates say, that this dress shall be either of the shape called chasuble or the shape called cope, and that its use shall be permissible at all celebrations. The Puritan, after the stock preamble about sacrificing priest, doctrine unknown to our reformers, and so forth, is compelled to limit his demurrer to the assertion that whereas the Church of England as a corporate whole is more committed to the principles which may underlie any actions, where those are actions performed by one in authority such as a Bishop or a Dean, and whereas the display of such actions is more notorious and their results (when they are mischievous) more mischievous in a very public and dignified place, such as a Cathedral, and upon days when congregations are most numerous and attentive, as they naturally would be on a principal feast day; therefore that the use of such distinctive dress should be limited in the Church of England to celebrations in Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches, on principal feast days,¹ and that it should be exclusively worn by the Bishop, Dean, or other principal minister then present. There is one further limitation. Of the two forms of dress named in the Prayer-Book of 1549, the cope is the more gaudy, and these gentlemen confine themselves to the cope.

Here again we can only ask, in irrepressible astonishment,

¹ We are reading the 24th Canon as the Purchas Judges did. For our own part, we have no doubt that the reference to principal feast days is brought in in connection with the choice of the Minister who is to officiate on those occasions, and that the Canon, like Elizabeth's Advertisements, contemplates copes in Cathedrals at all celebrations. The Latin Canons are conclusive on the point, and the use on every Sunday of copes, in, *e.g.* Durham Cathedral down to a late period of the last century, is a matter of historical certainty.

How can one side be so wilfully blind as not to realize how much they have conceded, and the other, how much has been made good, and how can both be so unreasonable as not to hit off some peaceful compromise, when neither can get out of the fact that in some form or other the Church of England does recognize the principle of a distinctive Eucharistic dress, while, whatever may be the legal limitations, the use of such dress must in the future English Church be permissive and not obligatory?

There can be no better evidence of the mistaken policy involved in limiting or stiffening the points assumed to be of importance in the ceremonial contest to any arbitrarily selected list, than that which was furnished in an incident of the preceding spring. What we have just called the ceremonial contest is, stripped of disguises, nothing less than the complete assertion of the religion of the Incarnation in its external aspect—the assertion that all matter and all form are hallowed by and due to God in aid of His reasonable worship. The opposite view, which, for want of a better name, we designate Puritan, is the result of the literal and uncritical respect for the mere text of Scripture, which accepts directions given to the Jews in view of the peculiar circumstances of that stiff-necked people, as if they were binding on the Christian Church of all ages. This Puritanism or Judaism has ever since the Reformation been a sore trouble to the Church of England, professed, as it has been, by so many members of that Church who have had no inconsiderable share in shaping its fortunes. We can, therefore, hardly exaggerate the happy significance of a judgment, which, so far as the present supreme Court of Ecclesiastical Appeal is concerned, has made a definite breach between the ceremonial principles of the Church of England, and those of Judaizing Puritanism. Such, and nothing less, is the scope of the judgment on the Exeter Reredos delivered by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. That the same body, to which we owe the Purchas judgment, should in its last days have been the author of this decision, in no way diminishes our satisfaction, for the incident proves the elements of good existing even in the present unsatisfactory condition of the appellate jurisdiction on Church questions.

If they will profit by them, the principles involved in this decision might afford to our spiritual authorities the opportunity of a fresh departure, in which, without entangling themselves in the complications of so-called Ritualism, they might meet the pious wishes of that ever increasing body in

the Church, whose desire is to worship in the beauty of holiness, according to the prescriptions of the Church of England. With what success such a policy has hitherto been carried out in the diocese of St. Asaph, the well-known history of the Denbigh Reredos will show. But another misadventure even more incredible in its incidents has recently occurred. A church was offered for consecration during the last summer, in aid (without division of districts) of a parish in a pleasant northern suburb of London. This had been chiefly promoted and most liberally helped by a gentleman of high professional standing in the capital, who was so far from wishing to use his munificence in support of his own views (justified as he might well have been deemed in so acting) that he worked on, well knowing that the choice of clergyman would be in the hands of the Vicar, and that he himself would not be consulted. The building, of which Mr. Butterfield was architect, had nothing extreme or singular in its arrangements, but was approved of by clergymen of the Evangelical party, including the Vicar. The consecration drew near, and the Church was prepared for the ceremony by a temporary Reredos of wood, containing a plain cross of the same material. Of the legality of such a cross under the Privy Council judgment in the joint suits of Liddell v. Westerton and Liddell v. Beal, and the subsequent one in Beal v. Liddell, and in conformity with the Exeter decision, there could not be the shadow of a doubt. The Vicar had repeatedly said, that he had personally no objection to this cross, although he reported the objections of at least one parishioner—the dissidents, we believe, having distinguished themselves by not contributing to the church. The day of consecration had arrived, which the Vicar had publicly announced; the church was ready for the ceremony; the founder and his friends joined the congregation who had assembled for the occasion, and what they found was the Diocesan, with the information that the Vicar and Churchwardens had at the last moment declined to present the petition for consecration, in consequence of these objections to the cross, in which neither the Bishop himself nor the Vicar professed to share, and therefore that the rite could not proceed. The founder and many others left the church deeply pained, when some opening service, carrying with it no benediction, proceeded.

We do not profess to judge what the legal powers of a Bishop under such circumstances may have been, considering the conventional basis on which the whole practice of conse-

cration rests in the Church of England. We can hardly conceive a Diocesan so fast bound in red tape, as not to have been able, if he chose, to overrule so monstrous an obstacle as that which had been in this case presented. In fact, Dr. Brice's book, with which we have headed this Article, gives a case tending to prove that a Bishop can consecrate a church or chapel in opposition to an Incumbent. In 1865 the then Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Sumner) consecrated a church at a place called Sydmonton against the will of the Incumbent, and the Dean of Arches, before whom the case came, said: 'The question of the validity of this consecration has been determined by the Privy Council, whose decision is binding on me,' viz. by confirming the grant of a faculty for a vault under the church, which the judge ruled to be tantamount to confirming the consecration. But even were the case otherwise, and the Bishop had no alternative, his demeanour seems to have been most regrettable. He was at least master of his own feelings and opinions, a burst of indignation from him at the miserable narrowness of the men who had rushed in to trample down what they had not sown, a stern rebuke of the vacillating Incumbent, would at least have cheered the hearts and strengthened the hands of those who had sacrificed themselves in God's service. A peremptory demand would have probably drawn out the missing parchment, which (as was notorious), had been duly signed. As it was, his unconditional and apparently unregretted refusal to consecrate on what was at most but a legal difficulty, threw all the weight of the episcopal influence on the side of the ungodly obstructors, while it deeply mortified the labourers in the vineyard, who had spent themselves on the pious work. We have dwelt on this case as a typical instance of what ought not to be done, if the affections of the great mass of moderate and loyal High Churchmen are to be retained. Once alienate them by unsympathetic coldness, and results must ensue which our readers can easily supply for themselves. No amount of extravagant conduct on the part of ultra men can justify less than fair play towards those, who claim no more than the Prayer-Book clearly allows, any more than any aberrations of ultra-Ritualism can be excused on the score of episcopal shortcoming.

We have, in the preceding pages, shown how much better things have turned out since the passing of the Public Worship Act, than the opponents of that measure could have anticipated when it was brought in. We have at the same time expressed our conviction, that it was to the opponents rather than to the supporters of the Bill, that the present

peaceful aspect of matters may be attributed. Still, we feel that we are not out of the wood, and we should be misrepresenting facts if we pretended that we were so. No cause has yet been heard under the Act, while even the permanent constitution of the final Court of Ecclesiastical Appeal, which seemed to have been settled two years since, is again at sea. In the meanwhile the existing Ritual suits are ripening towards a hearing, and there can, as we suppose, be no reasonable doubt, that neither Lord Penzance, nor any other Judge in his position, would think of trying, in the first instance, the points raised in them, while these were so near a hearing in the Superior Court. In fact, upon the burning questions of Ritualism it will not be the Worship Regulation Act Judge, but the appellate jurisdiction, which is not touched by last year's statute, which will have to decide.

It will depend upon the speed, with which the present suits are matured for hearing, whether the ultimate court before which they may come will be the reprieved Judicial Committee or such permanent Court of Appeal as the next Session may produce. We have no hesitation in declaring our preference for the latter. It would be very unsatisfactory, if indeed decorous, that questions so deeply affecting the future welfare of the Church should be decided by a tribunal which had, so to speak, been galvanized by an accident into continued existence. At the same time, should it be the fate of the prolonged Judicial Committee to have to deal with these questions, we trust that its decisions will be received with that degree of respect, to which it is fairly entitled, and which on many occasions it has justly earned. We may be very certain that, as far as the *personnel* of the court and the care which it would devote to the matters under dispute were concerned, a repetition of the Purchas precedent need not be apprehended. The Exeter judgment is evidence of the different way in which the Lords of the Council now approach such questions.

It is at all events certain that, whatever may be the court which tries those questions, and whatever may be the decisions at which it may arrive, these will be keenly criticized. No one, High Church or Low, could wish otherwise, for on matters, which have so deeply stirred men's hearts, it would be mere hypocrisy and no true respect to receive the conclusions with a stolid bow of silent acquiescence. But whatever shape the discussions may assume, we trust that they will not take the form of questioning the legitimacy of the tribunal itself—not as a maker of Church law, but as an expositor of the legal

meaning of existing documents. Church and State have played too long into each other's hands in England to make it decent for either partner abruptly to repudiate the connection. At the same time, with the growth of the Church life and the sharpening of the Church conscience, which have marked the revival, the Church has a right to expect from the courts, which sit in judgment on her muniments, a treatment very different from that, which would have contented the spirituality half a century since. As then we cannot encourage those, who ask 'Ought we to obey the new court?' only to answer 'no,' so we must very seriously warn those, who may henceforward be concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical justice, that, with the growth of the present generation, feelings, susceptibilities, and convictions on spiritual matters have been developed, to which our fathers and our fathers' fathers were wholly strangers. If, in dealing with the questions that must come before them, our Judges will take the pains to realize the Church of England in its historical continuity and the fulness of its traditionary doctrine; and if, on their part, Churchmen will condescend to range themselves behind that Church and not usurp its name for the ventilation of their own individual fancies—all will be well. With mutual suspicion, with popularity-hunting, with intentional extravagance, a tempest may be stirred up, under which even so gallant and well-appointed a barque as the Church of England—we mean, of course, in her capacity of the recognized and established teacher of the realm—may heave over and sink to the bottom.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Unseen Universe, or Physical Speculations on a Future State.
(London: Macmillan and Co., 1875.)

A DIGNITARY of the Church, who is both a theologian and a man of science, remarked to us, that this deeply interesting volume would be well worthy of two separate critiques, one from the standpoint of a Christian divine, and another from that of the physicist. We hope to give our readers at least one of such reviews of the book in our next number. For the present we must be content with the expression of our gratitude to its authors for so valuable a contribution to the discussion of the evidence for a future state deducible from scientific considerations. Their book has already received a well-merited tribute of praise from several of our contemporaries, and—

what is perhaps an equally precious recognition of its power—the fiercely hostile criticism of Professor Clifford in the *Fortnightly Review*. It may, perhaps, be right to mention, that the Article on Science and Religion contained in our present number is from an entirely distinct and independent source, and was in the hands of the Editor some weeks before the publication of *The Unseen Universe*. [We observe that the preface to the second edition contains a good-tempered, though justly sarcastic reply to Professor Clifford's attack.]

Traité de l'Election du Pape; par Jérôme Bignon, avocat-général au parlement de Paris. Réimpression faite d'après l'édition de 1655. Paris: Joubz et Roger.

THIS is an extremely curious book, and one to which the death of Pius IX., whenever it happens, will give an additional interest. It is a reprint from the work of Jerome Bignon, one of the fathers of French erudition, *grand-maitre* of the Royal Library, as well as *avocat-général* to the Parliament of Paris. He died in 1656. His *Treatise on the Election of the Pope* had become extremely rare, and of much value to archæologists. The present editor has done good service in reprinting it, and enriching it with such copious and valuable notes. The modest initials under which this gentleman has hidden his name have not, however, concealed his identity from his friends. We will not intrude on the privacy which he seeks further than by saying that he is one of the most accomplished scholars and *bibliophiles* in France, that part of his life was spent as a novice at the Abbey of Solesmes, and that he possesses a library such as even a Benedictine may be proud to possess.

This book has been to him a labour of love, and his notes, illustrative of the studiously complicated arrangements for the Papal Election, afford curious and amusing glimpses of mediæval customs and of Roman manners. Among more modern instances, he tells us how the Roman populace, in spite of repeated warnings from the police, persist in making good their right (?) to rob the house of the fortunate Cardinal to whom the Tiara has just accrued. Sometimes their greedy haste outstrips their knowledge. For instance, at the Conclave of Pius IX., the proclamation was delayed till the following morning, and a report was current in the city that the lot had fallen on Cardinal Ghizzi. The house of the reputed Pontiff was instantly pillaged by the mob, and Pius IX., after his succession, had to make good the loss which Cardinal Ghizzi had sustained. As many persons are convinced that Pius IX. is intriguing to name his successor in St. Peter's chair, it will be worth their while to consult Bignon's book to see what precedents there are, and whether the Sovereign Pontiff ever had any right to suggest or appoint a successor. Bignon enters freely on this topic, and stoutly maintains the impossibility of such a measure. He refers to that legendary Conclave, during which it is said that St. Peter, taking St. Clement by the hand, bade him become bishop in his stead. 'But this,' says Bignon, 'has remained

without example, so that we cannot make a rule from it; the more so as it never took effect. St. Clement did not succeed to St. Peter, for it was first Linus, and after him Cletus, and St. Clement was only the third.'

So much for the nomination of the future Pope by the present one.

But Bignon's book is worth consulting also, when we rise from the perusal of Prince Bismarck's despatch of May 14, 1872. The German Chancellor plainly hints that he means to ascertain that the next Pope 'shall in his *election* and *person* offer those guarantees against an abuse of power which the Governments have a right to demand.' *Apropos* of these rights, he then mentions 'the right of excluding candidates possessed by the Roman Emperor, Spain and France.' This sentence, following as a corollary on his threat, reminds one of the saying that a woman ought never to give her reasons, as *they* at least are sure to be wrong. That Austria, Spain and France do possess a right to exclude a candidate, is true; that is to say, their right, though on the one hand never canonically recognized by the Roman See, has on the other hand never been refuted, and it has been exercised both effectually and ineffectually, as, for example, when Charles V. did obtain the election of Adrian VI., but could not prevent that of Paul IV. The way in which the veto is exercised is explained by Bignon's editor. 'The Roman Catholic nations have among the members of the Sacred College a Cardinal-Protector, who belongs to them by birth, or by some such tie, as having been Nuncio at their Court. It is to this Cardinal that "the secret of the princes" is generally confided. By this term are meant the promises, wishes, and antipathies of a sovereign, even the *formal exclusion* to be pronounced against one or more candidates. The exclusion of each of the *three powers* can only apply to *one* candidate, and must be notified to the Sacred College before the election takes place.'

This being the state of the case, why does Prince Bismarck refer to it at all? It has no connection with the determination of a Protestant Emperor or Prime Minister to make or mar the election of the next Pope. About as little is the connection between 'the Roman Empire' to which he alludes and the Empire of United Germany, at the head of which King William of Prussia has been placed. We wish Prince Bismarck all success in his attempts to obtain for Latin Christianity a Pontiff whose ideas of temporal power and spiritual infallibility will be on a very different scale from those of Pius IX.; but it is a very wilful *or* a very ignorant falsification of history, if he pretends to do so, by right of a veto possessed by the three great Catholic powers, and by them alone. In her interference France has up to this time always been the most moderate, and Austria the most active. In 1823, but for an Austrian veto Cardinal Leveroli would have been elected, and it was to this fact that Leo XII. (Della Genga) owed his Tiara. Again, when after the death of Gregory XVI. the Conclave only sat for a short time, Prince Metternich's instructions just arrived too late to arrest the nomination of Mastai Ferretti to the chair, which he has filled for a period exceeding what Roman tradition assigns to the Episcopate of S. Peter.

During the recent sittings of the Vatican Council the altered attitude of Roman Catholic Governments towards the Holy See was assigned as a reason why their ambassadors should not be admitted to the debates. It is highly probable that on similar grounds the old right of veto will at least be questioned. With it, whether allowed or disallowed, Prince Bismarck at least has nothing to do. His high-handed policy takes its stand upon the interests of the great Empire over which he rules. But under the garment of strict legality there is no room to shelter it. Whether any other Protestant Governments may be found willing to assist him is doubtful. Anxious as we all are to see official Romanism lose its power to oppress the consciences of Roman Catholics, and disturb the politics of Christendom, we have no precedent in history, which leads us to suppose that any acts which seem to savour of illegality and violence are the best heralds of peace on earth, or of good will among the Churches of *Christendom*.

GOETHE once said of Art, that in it there were no masters, 'perhaps, however, forerunners and presentiments.' What is true of Art is also true of any great period of history and of any great movement. Of the Reformation there were many presentiments. England had her Lollards, and France her Albigensian heretics. Among the forerunners none were greater than Erasmus. M. Durand de Laur calls his new Life of the *savant* of Rotterdam *Erasme, précurseur et initiateur de l'esprit moderne* (Paris, Didier), and his book is interesting and full of matter.

OUR neighbours are fond of speaking of their country as of 'the sacred soil of France.' In one respect its soil is really sacred, from the fact of its early civilization and of the number and variety of historical associations connected with its fields and cities, its churches, and its very caves. Compiègne, so long a royal residence, was also the seat of many provincial councils held there by the bishops of the province of Rheims. Of these the first took place in 665, and the last in 1329. 'All of these,' says M. Auguste Pécoul, in his essay, *Notes sur les Conciles tenus à Compiègne* (published at Compiègne), 'were not *councils* in the ordinary meaning of the word. A certain number of them, called under the Carlovingian kings, were a sort of Diet: mixed assemblies, such as one often meets with later, and of which the Councils of Toledo are the most celebrated example in history. The presence of lay personages does not, from the canonical point of view, invalidate the value of decrees made at these meetings. This habit of associating the lay and the ecclesiastical element in legislative assemblies long subsisted. This union (if I may use the modern phrase) of Church and State seemed indispensable to the conduct of affairs, and to the maintenance of a peace that was never very well assured. * * * There is reason, however, to believe that, besides these general sittings, the bishops convoked themselves separately, and often took, without the participation of the lay dignitaries, decisions which have been attributed to all the members of the Diet,

because they were declared in the town on the occasion of the general assemblies.'

In 665 an event took place at Compiègne which interests English readers, viz. the consecration of S. Wilfrid to the See of York at the hands of Agilbert, Bishop of Paris. Twelve bishops were present, and the Venerable Bede, when he alludes to this, adds that 'all these bishops were Catholic.' This phrase reminds us that the Arian heresy was not yet extinct in the dioceses of France. Another solemn consecration took place at Compiègne in connection with a council held in 877. Louis the Stammerer then received his crown from the hands of the celebrated prelate, Hincmar of Rheims. But these councils were not always used to form sacred ties. Sometimes they served to undo as well as to unite. When Philip Augustus wished to divorce his wife, Ingelburga of Denmark, he made the prelates of the province of Rheims examine into the case. This was during a diet held at Compiègne in November, 1193. The marriage was invalidated, and the rejected wife was sent to a monastery, whence she appealed to the Holy See against the decisions of Compiègne.

That town was once visited by the Sovereign Pontiff. Innocent II. came there; but the event was not marked by any striking ceremony, or else all records of it have been lost, and have escaped the search of the compiler of this interesting little pamphlet.

FRENCH Art has recently received two books illustrative of its patronage by the early kings of France and of Provence. *Les joyaux du duc de Guyenne, ou recherches sur la vie privée du Dauphin Louis fils de Charles VI.*, is a paper contributed to the *Revue Archéologique* by M. Léopold Paunier. Any of our readers who wish to judge of the jewellery, the enamels, and the seal-engraving of that period, will benefit by consulting his pages.

WITHOUT doubt the two most successful French tales—for we shall occasionally notice even tales when they bear upon important topics—of last season have been *Tante Agnès*, by Princess Olga Cantacuzène, which had a deserved success, and *Le Mot de l'Enigme*, by Mrs. Augustus Craven (Paris: Didier et Cie., 1874). Of Mrs. Craven's book it is not too much to say that it is, especially as regards the first volume, the best piece of work that has come from her hand. It has a great feeling of reality, and, though an autobiography, it is neither dull nor stilted. *Anne Lhémi* was unpardonably dull, and *Fleurange* was strained and improbable to a degree that made one fear that the author of the *Récit d'une Sœur* would never write a good work of fiction. But this book shows that she can. It is a tale of Italian life; the heroine, daughter of an advocate in Messina, marries a Neapolitan grandee; he is faithless to her, and she is tempted to avenge herself, but she resists the temptation and regains the affections of the Duca di Valenzano, leading him gently back into the paths of wisdom, and up-

ward to a level above that of masked balls, carnival revels, high play, Milanese beauties, long journeys and violent passions, in which his existence had up to that time been passed. This is the whole plot. English readers may cast up their eyes and say that the subject is not very moral, and that Mrs. Craven has spent good work on a bad canvas. But Mrs. Craven does not write entirely for English readers. She writes for her co-religionists, and for a vast European society, whose youth and manhood pass away in just such frivolous pursuits as those she stigmatizes. But too many of the young and the wealthy of the Italian peninsula are all as idle, as tempted, as absorbed by trifles as were Valenzano and his wife, and it is no mean aim to have proposed to herself to show this society a 'more excellent way.' The struggles of the young wife with vanity, with wounded self-love, and even with that illusory friendship which a young and gifted French acquaintance offers to her, are beautifully drawn. Nor is it only in the noble and tender passages that Mrs. Craven has done herself justice. The account of the vulgar Donna Clelia, her vanity, her bouncing daughters, her gorgeous apparel, and the disasters that befel it on the day of the carnival procession, are very comic, not overdone, or ill-natured, and yet one feels that a Donna Clelia must have sat for this portrait. Mrs. Craven perfectly understands the Italian nobility, their childishness, their easy good temper, their belief in their own class, their love of amusement and small intrigue, the little hold that their religion has on them, their indifference to all larger or more European interests, provided theatres and carnivals never fail. The following passage is charming: 'On a small scale ours was in truth a society *du plus grand monde*, composed of an aristocracy exempt from any sort of haughtiness, and yet possessing all the traditions and manners of a day that is past. This society, as a set-off to a sufficiently striking futility, had an originality and an absence of affectation, which never permitted the invasion of that *ennui* which is caused by the mixture of frivolity and pretensions, when these two irritants come together, as they sometimes do. Against a lack of any great talents, or (with few exceptions) of any profound education, you might set an abundance of *esprit*, which was really scattered broadcast, as well as a singular facility for seizing and understanding any matter. Add to this the most gracious and winning address, and the most prompt and cordial hospitality, and you will have no difficulty in understanding that those who have been introduced into such a circle should carry away an ineffaceable recollection of it.'

We can well believe, that any one, who has read the *Mot de l'Enigme*, will not easily forget its pages, replete as they are with lively sketches of manners, and breathing the spirit of personal holiness, which is as necessary in the salon as in the closet, and might perhaps often prove more directly useful there, if indeed the one life could really be severed from the other.

THE *Revue des Deux-Mondes* of July 1 contains an able *résumé* of the case in its article entitled *Le Vaticanisme en Angleterre: M. Gladstone et le Cardinal Manning*. Readers who take interest in the pro-

blems discussed in the paper on 'Science and Religion,' in this number of the *Church Quarterly*, may profitably compare the treatment of the same theme by M. Claude Bernard, of the French Academy, in the *Revue* of May 15, in an article headed 'Definition de la Vie, les Théories anciennes et la Science moderne.' We cannot say that we have learnt very much from M. Albert Réville's contribution to the same Review, in the number for March 15, 'Le Conflit des Sciences naturelles et de l'Orthodoxie en Angleterre;' though of course such papers have their use in enabling us 'to see ourselves as others see us.' M. Réville has a paper of like character in the *Revue* of August 15 with reference to the biography of the late Dr. Rowland Williams, headed '*L'Anglicanisme Libéral*.' The issue for September 15 contains valuable articles on *Positivism*, by M. Milsand, and on *Les Congrès Catholiques*, by M. G. de Molinari.

L'Eucharistie: par Bossuet, par le R. P. FAGÈS (Lyon, 1874).

THIS is a small manual of meditations on the Eucharist, collected from the writings of Bossuet, and one which may be read with pleasure by members of our own communion and even by Continental Protestants. The following extract will show how far removed was the theology and the faith of Bossuet from any extreme or anti-historical views about the sacrifice of Christ in the Sacrament:— 'Jesus died only *once*, and could only, in that sense, be *once* offered. Otherwise we might be led to conclude that the virtue of His Death was imperfect. But that which He once did, viz. to offer *Himself*, all bleeding and covered with wounds, and to offer His soul along with His blood, *that* He continues to do every day in a *new manner* in heaven. We have seen with St. Paul, that He ceases not to offer Himself for us there, as also in His Church where He renders Himself present every day, under the figures of His death. Assemble yourselves then, ransomed nations, to celebrate the loving kindness of your Heavenly Father, in the humiliation of Jesus Christ for our sakes.'

THE *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Victor Palmé, Paris, 1874) has now been established for eight years, and its eighth year shows no falling off in interest. The papers are, however, unequal in merit; for instance, the one with which the January number opens, on the 'Visits of S. Peter to Rome, and his Residence there,' is badly argued. The Abbé Martin mistakes zeal for knowledge, vehemence for truth, and angry retorts for reasoning. On the other hand, we follow with great interest M. Loth's endeavour to trace the authorship of the *Imitation* to one of the canons regular of the Abbey of Windesheim in Holland, and to a date fixed between the years 1350 and 1380. The author promises to continue his researches and his chain of reasoning, and in some future number to identify (to his own satisfaction at least) some one of the celebrated *dévots* of that house with the book which continues and will long continue to delight all the churches.

More historically valuable is *An Account of Lavardin's Embassy to Rome, 1687-89*. It followed after the assembly of the clergy in 1682, when, by the order of Louis XIV., the celebrated *Four Articles* had stipulated for the liberties of the Gallican Church. The principles of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* do not allow them to sympathize with that gallant and national movement for religious liberty. It is spoken of as a guilty effort to change the idea of Christian kingship, and to resuscitate Pagan Cæsarism under forms which were still outwardly Catholic. We know, alas, that four years later Innocent XII. obtained from the king and from the bishops named to see after the assembly of 1682, the disavowal of the *Four Articles*, and that thus perished the hopes of the Gallican Church. Those prelates were the forerunners of those modern French bishops, who, after their declaration of *non placet*, have come to acknowledge the Vatican Council as œcumenical and the Pope as personally infallible.

THE REV. M. F. SADLER has once more made an effort in a thoroughly irenical direction by the publication of a small treatise of less than two hundred pages on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. Its prior title is *The One Offering* (London: Bell and Sons). Now there cannot be a more grave and religious objection to the doctrine of an Eucharistic sacrifice than the belief that it, in some way, militates against the completeness of the sublime satisfaction once for all made upon Mount Calvary. Moreover, the fact that in the later middle age it is possible to urge this charge against some writers with apparent plausibility, to say the very least, shows how much carefulness is needed to prevent the insinuation of such grievous error. Mr. Sadler points out with force and discrimination how mistaken an accusation it is, when it is brought against the teaching of the Fathers and of Anglican divines, or even against the more moderate school of Roman Catholics, such as Gardiner or Möhler, as distinguished, we presume, from such as Soto or Suarez. His quotations are most apt and pertinent, and render his little volume most truly a *multum in parvo*. We almost wonder that he did not (like the lamented Archdeacon Freeman, whom he quotes) say something on the illustration deducible from the heathen ideas concerning sacrifice. At p. 63, in the text or as a note, might well, we think, be introduced the famous lines from the sixth book of Ovid's *Fæsti*—

'Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris sumite fibras,
Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus.'

We have much pleasure in recommending Mr. Sadler's book, both to those who may be prepared to accept its teaching and to those who might be likely to dissent from it.

The History of Jesus of Nazara, by DR. THEODORE KEIM. Translated from the German. Vol. I. (London: Williams & Norgate.)

THIS work is the first issued by a committee of gentlemen, who think it desirable that books of a more independent character and less con-

servative tendency than most of those hitherto translated from the German should be rendered accessible to English readers; so as to place before them 'the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent, conducted without reference to doctrinal considerations, and with the sole purpose of arriving at truth.' These are very high-sounding words, and seem to need some little examination. We are not, we trust, guilty of any unfairness if we surmise that their meaning is somewhat of this kind. An Anglican divine, say Bishop Pearson, in treating of the Person of Christ, assumes that the decision of the early Church is true, that Christ is very God and very Man. Thus he starts with a reference to doctrinal considerations, and not with a sole purpose of arriving at truth. The same may be said of a Lutheran divine, say Dörner, who has subscribed *ex animo* to that Augsburg Confession, of which the very first article declares *Decretum Nicenæ Synodi de unitate essentiæ divinæ et de tribus personis verum et sine ullâ dubitatione credendum esse*. But we are asked to believe that another class of writers has written without any such bias, and that Dr. Keim is one of them. Now it may be ascribed to prejudice on our part, but we find it quite impossible to accept the correctness of this statement. Dr. Keim has, in our judgment, written throughout with a most distinct reference to doctrinal considerations, and starts with an assumption quite as marked as any that can be found in Anglican or Lutheran, in Oriental or Roman Catholic theologians. Dr. Keim begins with the assumption, that Christ is *not* divine in any such sense as He is understood to be by the millions who worship Him as their manifested God; and this assumption colours the whole of his investigations. Thus, for instance, he rejects as untrue the resuscitation of Lazarus, and one of his grounds is (p. 177), that 'the resurrection of a man who has been dead for four days is related nowhere else.' But if we must refuse to credit the return to life of one, who has been dead for *four* days, how can we with any consistency believe in the resurrection of Him who rose again on the *third* day? We can only suppose that Dr. Keim intends to lead us on to this denial, though we are thus far utterly at a loss to understand whether he does or does not acknowledge the possibility of a miracle. That Dr. Keim may, in some sense, be called learned and reverential, we admit. He is learned, in that he has studied deeply and widely the writings of his German contemporaries. Yet we cannot but fancy, that he has looked at ancient authorities through a haze of modern Teutonic speculation, and we feel the force of a recent remark of Professor Lightfoot, that to make a real acquaintance with the works of S. Irenæus would be a far more fruitful task than the perusal of shelves full of modern German criticism. He is reverent, in that he is incapable of ascribing fraud to our Lord Himself, and ever speaks of Him with deferential awe; though it is hardly possible for one, who has rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation, to avoid the use of expressions which grate upon the ears of those who hold the Catholic faith. The dissertations on Philo, on the Pharisees and the Essenes, contained in the volume, are interesting and valuable and, with Renan, he declares, concerning S. Luke's Gospel (p. 112),

that 'there can be no doubt that the book was composed by the fellow-worker with the Apostle Paul.' [Since writing the above, we have discovered that in his concluding (and as yet untranslated) volume, Dr. Keim explains, that he does not believe in the *bodily* resurrection of Christ, though he considers the testimony of S. Paul (only four years after the event) to be conclusive on the fact of *his* conviction of the reality of a resurrection. After discussing all the arguments for and against it being a vision, he concludes, from the Apostle saying that he had seen our Lord, that *it is very probable* (!) that Christ did appear to the disciples *in the spirit* in a visible form. Do the Editors hold these conclusions to be 'among the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent?']

THE mention of Professor Lightfoot's name suggests to us the expression of a hope—shared, we trust, by many of our readers—that he will reprint, in a collected form, his admirable contributions to the *Contemporary Review* respecting the volumes entitled, *Supernatural Religion*. The book itself is probably one of those which will live and create a sensation for a year or two, and then rest on the bookshelves, to be regarded about as much as what Burke called 'the now forgotten volumes of Toland, Chubb, and Tindal.' But in bringing about this result, a large share of the credit will be due to Professor Lightfoot, and he has earned our gratitude accordingly.

WE have not been able so fully to examine the contribution to this controversy on the book called *Supernatural Religion*, furnished by the Rev. C. A. Row, as to speak definitely concerning details. But we may safely assert that his volume on *The Supernatural in the New Testament* (London: Norgate) conjoined with his previous book, *The Jesus of the Evangelists*, forms a truly valuable addition to our apologetic literature.

THE little pamphlet of Mr. Kentish Bache, in defence of the Johanneine authorship of the fourth Gospel (London: Hodges) against the attack of Dr. Davidson, has deservedly reached a second edition. Although these large questions undoubtedly need a fuller treatment, it is very desirable that evidence of the inaccuracies and assumptions into which even really learned men, such as Dr. Davidson, can fall, should be readily accessible. Many, who lack the leisure and the means required for prolonged investigation, can procure such a publication as Mr. Bache's, and derive from it much benefit both in the way of actual information and of suggestive hints concerning the nature of controversy in our time.

BAXTER is, both as a man and a theologian, a person of such mark and interest, that we cannot but feel thankful for the interesting address delivered by the Dean of Westminster on the inauguration of his statue; though the task might have been more suitably intrusted to a Dissenter. The address, which is republished in *Macmillan's*

Magazine for September, gives us something of the shadow-side as well as of the bright side of Baxter's character. It is strange, but we suppose in keeping with Dean Stanley's views, that it is apparently implied as a point to Baxter's credit, that in the words of Mr. Martineau, speaking of and for Unitarians, 'our spiritual ancestry is undoubtedly found in the Baxterian line.' Perhaps this fact may go some way in accounting for the distrust of Baxter felt by so many churchmen of past generations as well as in the present.

THE reference to *Macmillan's Magazine* reminds us that it may be desirable to take notice of one or two of the more prominent articles in recent serial literature, confining ourselves, as in our critiques of books, to those of a theological or (to borrow the convenient phraseology of Roman law) a *quasi*-theological character.

The articles of Canon Girdlestone on the homes and condition of our peasantry are always deserving of study and consideration. Mr. Escott's 'Two Cities and Two Seasons,' in *Macmillan's Magazine* for July last, may be compared with Mr. Trollope's account of English life in his latest novel. We cannot help hoping that both writers have failed to take sufficiently into account the fact that evil is almost of necessity a more noisy thing than goodness, alike in the Rome or the Constantinople of A.D. 400, or the London of A.D. 1875. Nevertheless, if, as Goethe and others have thought, there are successive epochs of belief and unbelief, and if we are doomed just now to witness a passing phase of unbelief, it is inevitable but that lack of faith will act upon practice.

We have to thank *Blackwood's Magazine*, in its issue of July last, for one of the most calm and reasonable, as well as hopeful, papers on the side of belief that we have seen for a long time. It is entitled 'Modern Scepticism and its Fruits.' The tone is excellent.

THE Rev. Percival Frost has contributed to the August number of the *Fortnightly Review* a paper on 'Some Clerical Obliquities of Mind.' Mr. Frost herein tries to adopt the position of an impartial surveyor of some of our present controversies. This is a harder task than may be imagined at first sight. We understand the claim to such a post, when it is urged on behalf of a person like Professor Plumptre, because we observe that that gentleman, whether he is speaking at a Church Congress, or preaching at St. Paul's, or writing in a Magazine, never condescends to take what may be the popular side for the moment, is perfectly fearless, and does not scruple to point out faults in the school of thought with which his own name is associated, as well as in those of other tendencies. Mr. Frost, on the contrary, appears to discern obliquities in one set of clergy, and one only—namely, those who disobey the Purchas judgment in one particular direction. Now the principle, that the latest decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should always be obeyed on all hands, is no doubt a very clear and simple one, and there is much to be

said in its favour. But it will, we suspect, always be found that the carrying out of such a principle necessarily involves three things—namely, a thorough respect for the Court and its rulings, an impartial enforcement of those rulings upon all parties, and, lastly, a most strict and literal obedience on the part of the highest ecclesiastical authorities themselves. But in the case before us these conditions are all lacking. That history may pronounce a favourable verdict upon many of the decisions of the Judicial Committee we can well believe. That the decision in the Purchas case should ever be one of those thus praised is utterly beyond our powers of belief. Secondly, why did not Mr. Frost call upon his brother clergy to obey the findings of this same Court in the matter of the St. Barnabas case, or the previous decision respecting the posture of the celebrant? Why was it a greater moral obliquity for 5000 clergy to petition the bishops not to enforce the ruling against the Eastward position, than for an equal number to disregard the previous ruling in its favour? And, thirdly, if the *dicta* of the Court in the Purchas case be so obligatory, why are deans, bishops, and archbishops at liberty to disregard any single one of them? The truth is, that in Great Britain extravagances are disobeyed. Some sixty years since shoplifting was made a capital offence. The result was, that juries refused to convict persons guilty of this crime, even in the teeth of the clearest evidence. Twenty-four years ago, the Imperial Parliament refused to listen to men like Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Hope, and others, and passed the Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill. That was another extravagance, though of a far more innocent kind. But the nation speedily became ashamed of it, and, though it remained for eighteen years on the Statute-Book, it was disobeyed daily. If, as we believe, the famous Purchas judgment is also an extravagance, it must undergo the fate which Roman law called *plus petitio*, whereby the suitor, who claimed more than his right, lost even that for which he might have rightfully sued. Mr. Frost is a good scholar, and has greatly helped many youthful students in their endeavours to acquire a mastery over the difficulties of Latin composition. But he seems to us far more happy in his explanations of the nature of the *oratio obliqua* than in his account of what he esteems the obliquities of the clerical mind.

OUR article on the existing controversies concerning Rites and Ritual has to some extent anticipated criticism on the chief contributions to the discussion. Canon Swainson has published what may be considered a supplement to his treatise *On the Rubrical Question of 1874*, namely, a pamphlet on *The Parliamentary History of the Act of Uniformity* (London: Bell & Sons). If we understand him rightly, he would condemn not merely the *obiter dictum* of the Court in the Westerton v. Liddell case in favour of the vestments, but also the decision in the Purchas case in favour of the wearing of the Cope in Cathedrals on certain great occasions. Dr. Swainson condemns and claims to have refuted (p. 67) the maximum and minimum theory of Mr. Hope. Further, if the Courts of Law

judge otherwise, he would call on Convocation and Parliament to remedy what he considers to be 'a mistake committed in the framing of the Rubric ;' and, if Convocation should unhappily uphold what he would then regard as 'the mistake of 1662,' Parliament is to be invited to override Convocation. This language is certainly not very irenic. The points at issue in the duel between the *Quarterly Review* and Mr. MacColl's exceedingly clever book on *Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, and Ritualism* must, we suppose, either end in a quiet compromise, or be once more tried before the legal authorities. Mr. Droop, author of *Edwardian Vestments*, has, on one or two points, not perhaps of very great moment, given an independent support to the *Quarterly Reviewers*. These questions are also discussed with ability, but perhaps too much in the spirit of an advocate, in certain chapters of a large and comprehensive treatise on *The Principles of the Reformation*, by the Rev. A. Lendrum (London: Pickering). Mr. J. Fuller Russell, Rector of Greenhithe, has published the Coronation Service and also the Consecration Office of Abbey Dore Church in 1634 (London: Pickering). Both text and notes are curious and valuable as tending to show the difficulty (not to say impossibility) of adherence to the principle of excluding all ceremonies not expressly retained, though to say this does not necessarily imply that every clergyman has full liberty to introduce, at his own individual pleasure, whatever may seem suitable in the Roman or Sarum Offices. Lastly, Mr. Beresford Hope has kindly listened to the suggestions of many readers of his valuable *Public Worship in the Church of England*, and put forth a selection of chapters, thereby rendering his powerful plea for certain concessions more accessible to the general public, though of course less complete as a sustained argument. We are by no means sorry that such works as those of Mr. Hope and Mr. MacColl should be criticized by men of ability, such as Dr. Swainson and Mr. Droop. There is more hope of a satisfactory result in the end when the talent and research are not confined to one side only.

We can bear testimony, from personal experience, to the value of three Manuals of which Canon Norris is, in one case, the author, in two others, the editor. (London: Rivingtons.) They treat respectively of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Prayer-Book. We recognize in them the amendment of what seems to be a common fault in such publications—namely, a disposition to treat the most subsidiary historical facts as of equal importance with doctrine. *Notes for Sunday School Teachers*, by Mr. Stafford C. Northcote (London and Oxford: Mowbray) is also a good book of this kind on a smaller scale.

THE Rev. J. S. Pollock, of St. Alban's, Birmingham, has discussed a subject, perhaps too much ignored in Anglican theology, the intermediate state. His little treatise (London: Rivingtons) is entitled, *Out of the Body: a Scriptural Inquiry*. Without committing ourselves to the acceptance of all Mr. Pollock's positions, we quite agree

with him in thinking it desirable that such questions should not be ignored. We may remark that the treatment of the subject is very un-Roman. But was not the story of the apparition of Mrs. Veal, alluded to in page 233, a mere invention of Defoe's, made in order to sell Drelincourt's book?

WE cannot wonder at the fact of *Heavenward Thoughts* (London: Macintosh), edited by the late Dean Champneys, having reached a third edition. The texts, though not selected with reference to the Church's seasons, are well chosen, and the brief meditations on each thoroughly devout and by no means of a commonplace order. The account of the origin of the volume bears the stamp of a great reality of religious life in the family home whence this little book originated.

CARDINAL MANNING has been delivering, in Manchester, one of his clever, but utterly one-sided, addresses respecting the rationalism of the day. He is able to see that too great licence and lack of authority lead to unbelief; he cannot, or he will not, see, that undue credulity and excessive repression lead to the same result. And yet the history of the middle ages, of this century and of the last century, agree in teaching this lesson. As regards medieval scepticism, Dr. Newman is an unexceptionable witness. Then, again, it is impossible to mention a greater name in the Italian literature of this century than that of Leopardi; but the sad atheism of Leopardi was that of a man nurtured in the Roman States, and entirely surrounded by Roman Catholic influences. M. Renan was brought up as a Roman Catholic; and even, we believe, took minor orders. And, in the last century, what name can be put on a level with that of Voltaire as an apostle of infidelity? Yet Voltaire also was brought up among Roman Catholics, and initiated into unbelief by an Abbé, his godfather, M. de Châteauneuf. History, in judging of the scepticism of our own day, will have to take into account the pilgrimages to Lourdes and Paray-le-Monial, as well as the writings of a Comte, a Buckle, or a Mill. Cardinal Manning *more suo* conveniently forgets, also, the licence of thought exhibited by such Roman Catholic theologians as the Abbé Simon, and Bishop Geddes, and M. le Noir. As regards the University of Oxford, deeply as we lament the scepticism which has prevailed ever since the secession of Dr. Newman, it is evident that a counter-movement is in progress, and we have much pleasure in notifying the amount of support, which the *Church Quarterly* has every reason to hope for, from the rising talent both of Oxford and the sister University.

WE believe that we are right in asserting, that successive editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* have displayed an ever-increasing attention to questions connected with theology. The *ninth* edition, which is now in progress (Edinburgh: Black & Co.) is certainly not an exception. The articles 'Adam' and 'Abraham' have been entrusted to Dr. Davidson; but, perhaps by way of balance, the important sub-

ject of 'Apologetics' has been committed to the able pen of one of the most gifted and rising ministers of the Free Church, Professor Lindsay, of Glasgow; and in the article 'Altar,' the editor has wisely availed himself of the services of the most learned of the Scottish Episcopalian clergy, the Rev. G. H. Forbes, of Burntisland.

MR. FORBES continues, from time to time, to issue numbers of the *Panoply* (Pitsligo Press; Burntisland). The latest number contains a suggestive and interesting review of the reign of Saul, and a paper, which we have not been able to examine as it deserves, on the *καταβολὴ κόσμου* (S. Matt. xiii. 35), which Mr. Forbes wishes to render as the *overthrow* (not the *foundation*) of Kosmos or Paradise. We trust that the learned editor is mistaken in supposing that the Scottish Communion Office is still in danger.

WE hope to discuss *in extenso*, in our second number, the questions raised by Canon Swainson respecting the Creeds, more especially that 'commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius.' In the meantime, we have to thank Mr. Ommanney, the Curate of Whitchurch, in Somersetshire, for a very valuable contribution to the literature of the subject (London: Rivingtons). In a small octavo of less than 400 pages, Mr. Ommanney has traversed the theories both of Mr. Ffoulkes and Professor Swainson with much learning and acuteness.

WE do not doubt but that the influence of the late Bishop Wilberforce is sorely missed in the councils of the nation, in Convocation, in gatherings of Bishops, in his diocese, and in the Church at large. But we are not equally sure, that he was one of those men whose written words go far to supplement the loss of personal presence. There are undeniably striking passages in the *Words of Counsel* (Oxford and London: Parker), which have been collected and arranged by the Rev. T. V. Fosbery. Such are the extracts from the Bishop's Charge of 1863 on modern infidelity; the description of the *quondam* condition of but too many village churches given in the Appendix; and the warnings on the danger of anything like formal and compulsory confession (pp. 140 *et seqq.*), enforced as they are by a remarkable passage from the writings of a living Roman Catholic divine, Canon Hirscher, of Freiburg, in Breisgau. Nevertheless, beauty of tone and expression do not suffice when men ask, as they will ask, those exceedingly difficult questions as to what is or is not *de fide*, what may or may not be lawfully practised.

THERE is much practical good sense and right feeling in *Pressing Onward*, by Dr. WHITTEMORE, the Rector of St. Katherine Cree (London: Macintosh). Its author, however, appears to be almost as anti-sacerdotal as Mr. Spurgeon has shown himself to be in a recent sermon, entitled 'The Priest dispensed with.' Only there is this great difference, that Mr. Spurgeon is in no wise bound to the Or-

dinal, the Catechism, or the Liturgy of the English Prayer-Book ; whereas Dr. Whittemore *is* bound to them. Consequently we understand (without accepting) the position of the one ; but we do not thoroughly understand the position of the other.

It is impossible, we think, for any fair student of Dean Goulburn's volume on the *Communion Office* (London: Rivingtons) to rise from its perusal without feeling the greatest respect for its author. There is an impress of deep reality about its tone of sober and earnest piety, and so great is the author's fairness, that he does not hesitate to lay before his readers citations from the writings of the Fathers or of modern authors, which may seem to controvert his own conclusions. Yet we must own to feeling some doubt respecting the probability of any very large body of persons being willing to accept the exact position which is here marked out for them ; that is to say, accept the theology of the volume with *entire* satisfaction in all the existing contents of the Prayer-Book. A single illustration may suffice to make our meaning clear. Dr. Goulburn argues, of course most justly, for the existence of a sacrificial element in the rite of the Holy Communion. But if the existence of that element once be granted, does not the admission tend to make worshippers prefer such offices as those of the first book of King Edward, or the Scottish, or the American, in which (as in the Oriental Liturgies, to say nothing of Western ones) that idea is more evidently brought out ? The lamented Archdeacon Freeman was as much attached to the Prayer-Book as any man could well be, yet, even he declared concerning the English Church that 'her real mind in those respects has need to be written yet more legibly, and beyond all possibility of mistake, in her form of ritual administration, if she is to win the generality of her children to a universal and habitual conformity, through her nurture, with the ancient mind of the Church Universal, concerning the higher and supernatural side of the Eucharistic Mystery.'

FRESH editions of really good books, modern or ancient, must always be a boon. *Accordingly we gladly welcome new issues of *Sermons on the Epistles and Gospels*, by the Rev. Isaac Williams, of Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*, and a new translation of the famous *Imitatio Christi*. These all proceed from the firm of Messrs. Rivington. The last-named two volumes are got up with much elegance.

The Holy Angels is a very pleasing and thoroughly scriptural little book (Rivingtons) from the pen of the Vicar of Westbury, Mr. Duke. Ordinary readers of the Bible perhaps hardly consider how much is told us in its pages concerning these glorious beings. Due and proper meditation on this subject is *one* of the divinely provided safeguards against Pantheism. We may observe, that an interesting discussion on the nature of 'The Angel of the Lord' (a theme very properly not ignored by Mr. Duke in chapter xvi.) is to be found in the second part of Dr. Mill's most valuable treatise against Strauss.

A *History of the Church*, in two small volumes, from the Day of Pentecost to our own times, by Miss C. A. JONES (London : Hayes), is well deserving of attention. So far as we have been able to examine it, it seems thoroughly interesting in style, and, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, exceedingly fair and temperate. As the author approaches our own time her difficulties increase, and we cannot think that she has done justice to the Evangelical School. It was the school which, besides all that it wrought for individual souls, awoke the national conscience to a sense of its guilt in such matters as the slave-trade and the neglect of all attempts to evangelize India. Something more too should be said about Wesley; and the name of Wilberforce should find a place, as also that of Scott, whom Dr. Newman, in his *Apologia*, praises as 'a true Englishman,' displaying 'bold unworldliness and vigorous independence of mind,' and one to whom, 'humanly speaking, he almost owes his soul.' It is, however, a comparatively easy task to point out deficiencies. What we have just said might be added to Miss Jones's book and by no means clash with its contents; and, on the whole, we may well congratulate her on the large measure of success with which she has accomplished a very difficult task. We have seldom seen an abridgment so readable. The same author has also given us (London : Masters) some very excellent and interesting *Stories for the Christian Year*, in four volumes. They are suited for children of all classes, and we can hardly imagine a fitter or more welcome prize-book. The two tales which have struck us most are 'Grace's May Dream' and 'The Little Shoebblack.' Miss Jones has also edited a translation of Father Grou's little book of *Meditations on the Love of God* (London : Hayes), an attractive book, which will be very welcome to very many.

BIOGRAPHY is so much like a twin-sister of history that it seems only right to mention, after Miss Jones's book, three small volumes containing lives of the *Fathers of the Church*, by the author of *The Tales of Kirkbeck* (London : Hayes). We are glad to see that this work has reached a second edition, for it is composed with care and skilful discrimination, and in an excellent spirit. Among its merits must be reckoned its felicity of quotation from the *Lyra Apostolica*, and the poetry of Archbishop Trench and Mr. Isaac Williams. The biographies are twenty in number, and embrace nearly all the greatest lights of the first four centuries.

A BIOGRAPHICAL work of a different character, that is to say, one of original research, is, we believe, at last making real progress. We refer to the proposed *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography down to A.D. 800*, which is to be published by Mr. Murray, as a companion to the Dictionaries of Antiquities, of Greek and Roman Biography, and of Geography, edited by Dr. William Smith. In this case Dr. Smith has, we believe, transferred the editorship to Professor Wace, of King's College, London, who will be assisted by an able staff of

contributors numbering, if we are rightly informed, some fifty or sixty scholars and theologians.

WE must be content for the present with merely chronicling the issue of another volume, the fifth, of what is commonly called *The Speaker's Commentary* (London: Murray). It contains the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, edited respectively by Dr. Kay and the present Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Payne Smith.

MR. GLADSTONE has republished, with a preface, three of his most valuable and interesting contributions to the discussion on *Vaticanism*. He has, at last, apparently succeeded in awakening public attention to the great scandal of a matrimonial case in Scotland; a case which, unless it were visited with the sternest public reprobation, might indeed become *pessimi exempli*. The Church of Rome, though often displaying, under high-minded Pontiffs, a most commendable zeal on behalf of wronged wives, as, *e.g.*, Ingelburga of Denmark, has too often showed a great willingness to accommodate itself to the misdemeanours of the great. To say nothing of the distressing compliments addressed to Louis XIV. by such great preachers as Massillon and Bourdaloue, it is difficult to frame any valid excuse for the dissolution of the marriages of three French rulers, Louis XII., Henri IV., and the first Napoleon. A correspondent of a contemporary journal has recently offered for this last case the ordinary palliation, that the marriage of Josephine had been purely civil. But he cannot have read the account of the latest inquiries on this subject put forth in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* during 1869, by the Comte d'Haussonville in his articles 'L'Eglise Romaine et le premier Empire.' Unless M. d'Haussonville can be refuted, the above-named plea will not avail. It is thought by some that Mr. Gladstone has dealt hardly with our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians in pressing, with a remorseless logic, their tenets to the legitimate conclusions deducible from them. But certainly such events as the Guibord burial case in Canada, and the demands of the Papal Nuncio in Spain, show that the premises attacked in the ex-Premier's recent publications are not in these days mere dormant scholastic *formulae*, but real grounds for action on the part of the Roman Curia, wherever there seems to be a chance of carrying them out.

MR. CARTER has edited four volumes translated from an anonymous French work, entitled *Meditations on the Life of Our Lord*; two of them bearing on the public Life, one on the hidden, and one on the suffering and glorified Life (Rivingtons). To criticize books of this character fully would raise questions of considerable depth and difficulty, on which we should be sorry to speak hastily. Thus much, however, may, we trust, be declared without impropriety. On the one hand, we have so much respect for the Rector of Clewer, and admiration for his own writings, that we should have preferred a book of meditations which had passed through the alembic of his own mind,

even though materials from all quarters had been employed in the process. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that certain portions of the works of such men as A'Kempis, Fénelon, Scupoli, De Sales, and others, have been fairly naturalized among us, and that authors of great moderation, such as Dean Goulburn, do not deny the usefulness of such writings under certain circumstances. Time and experience can, perhaps, alone show whether these volumes, with their strictly Loyolan rules, can fairly win a place beside the above-named authors or not. At present our own sentiments lead us to prefer Mr. Carter's own discourses (London: Masters & Co.), which, we are glad to see, have reached a third edition. We also thankfully welcome from the same hands a new volume, *Spiritual Instructions on the Divine Revelations* (Masters), delivered in the Chapel of the House of Mercy at Clewer.

A TASK, which we wished to see accomplished by Mr. Carter, has apparently been attempted by the Rev. R. H. Cresswell, in two small volumes called *Aids to Meditation* (London: Hayes). We say apparently, because we do not know to what extent Mr. Cresswell may have drawn on foreign sources. He too follows Loyola in the matter of arrangement. The Meditations are for every day for the season between Trinity and Advent, and though they look, at first sight, slightly formal, will, we doubt not, be found very useful to numbers, who are attempting to overcome the great difficulties attendant upon the practice of Meditation.

THE Superior of that most energetic and influential body, the Cowley Society of S. John the Evangelist, Father Benson, has published a striking volume called *Bible Teachings* (London: Hayes), on the discourse at Capernaum recorded in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of S. John. Independently of the directly spiritual bearings of such a book—and they seem to be deep and weighty—we must not, in these days of scepticism, overlook what may be termed its adversative value. A reader imbued with the principles suggested in this and similar works will be protected and, as it were, fore-armed, against many of the insinuations of Mr. Matthew Arnold in his recent defence of his *Literature and Dogma* put forth in the *Contemporary Review*.

SOME very plain and simple, but admirable *Meditations on the Last Seven Words*, delivered by Canon King on Good Friday, were taken down by a shorthand writer without the knowledge of the speaker, but are now published with his consent (London and Oxford: Mowbray).

A *Plain Communion Book*, from the press of the same publisher, by the Rev. E. C. Dermer, contains remarkably good illustrations. The letterpress with its prayers and selection of texts seems also very good; but we are not sure that the typical character of the events chosen

from the Old Testament is made quite so clear as in some manuals. Another small manual, *The Bread of Life* (also Mowbray), has reached a sixth edition, which we can well understand, as it seems to be very comprehensive.

BOTH that very pleasing little serial *New and Old, The Gospeller, and My Sunday Friend* (Mowbray) are marvels of cheapness. A very excellent little tale from the former publication has been issued separately, *No Man's Land*, by Florence Wilford. It describes the work of the Church in a neglected district, and one great merit is, that the poor are not too much idealized.

WE fear that tales, written with the very best intentions, will fail to be of service, if they are almost entirely occupied with the love-making of the clergy introduced into them. The author of the *Incumbent of Axhill* (London: Masters) seems quite capable of writing an interesting story; but this is not a good specimen of her powers.

As we hope to treat of the *Bonn Conferences* at an early period, it must suffice, for the present, to mention the publication of the Report of the meeting held in 1874, translated from the German of Professor Reusch (London: Rivingtons), with an important though brief preface by Canon Liddon.

THE founder of the Professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford might well rejoice over the appearance of such an excellent book as *Indian Wisdom* (London: Allen & Co.), which has been put forth as a summary of much which the present occupant of that chair has previously delivered in his courses of lectures. It is a work replete with instruction on a subject, which will more and more engage the attention of thinkers in our day, and the tone is admirable. We shall have occasion, at least indirectly if not directly, to refer to Mr. Monier Williams's volume in some future number of the *Church Quarterly*. Meanwhile we must express our feelings of gratitude to its author.

WE are glad to see students of divinity paying attention to those philosophic discussions in mental science which must so powerfully, though often in an indirect manner, affect the tone of our theology; and we trust that the Victoria Institute is doing good service in encouraging the handling of such themes as well as the problems of physical science. We observe among other interesting papers read at recent meetings of the Institute an examination of Mr. Mill's three (posthumously published) essays on Religion, by Dr. Irons (London: Hardwicke). This examination is conducted with great care; it brings varied learning to bear on the questions at issue; it exhibits that acquaintance with the writings of opponents without which no man will ever become an effective controversialist; and it is

thoroughly kind and charitable to the memory of that honest, but most gloomy thinker. Just to show that our sympathy with Dr. Irons has not led us to read his pages in an uncritical temper, we venture to doubt whether he is not a little hard upon Calvinism (pp. 24 and 49), and also whether the evidence on the matter is so thoroughly clear as to justify the assertion (p. 33) that 'Abiogenesis is as yet a dream.'

WE are pleased to learn that a fresh issue of the *Bampton Lectures* for 1870, by the same author, is contemplated by the publishers (Parker, Oxford and London). The course of recent controversy has amply shown that Dr. Irons judged wisely in choosing as a subject 'Christianity as taught by S. Paul.' Both the sceptics and believers feel the importance of the Pauline evidence, as in a former day did Lord Lyttelton. Witness a recent contribution to *Fraser's Magazine* by Mr. Fras. Newman; the language of Dr. Keim cited by us a few pages back; and, on the believing side, a very able contribution to the question by Mr. C. A. Row, in one of the publications of the Christian Evidence Society.

THE Rev. G. T. Kingdon is also a theologian who has not forsaken the study of Greek philosophy. It sounds almost like an echo of old (and, as many might imagine, departed) traditions of Granta, to find, now that we have lost Dr. Whewell, another Cambridge Platonist. His *Essay on the Protagoras of Plato* is highly interesting, and ought to give a fresh impulse to the study of Plato. Mr. Kingdon, who seems thoroughly well read in the literature of his subject, omits (somewhat to our surprise) all reference to Professor Jowett. It is, however, the first English book (unless the appendix to the English edition of Schwegler may be considered an exception) in which we have seen any acknowledgment of the merits of the *Logique* of Father Gratry.

THE favourable impression made by the Rev. A. D. Crake's tale, *The First Chronicle of Æscendune*, is amply sustained by a companion volume, *Alfgar the Dane*. As in his former production, Mr. Crake seems to have taken great pains to be correct in his facts, and he has, we really believe, combined accuracy with liveliness. Schoolboys, not at Bloxham only, ought to be very grateful to him; though in thus speaking we by no means intend to imply that seniors will not find this little book both interesting and instructive. Its tone is as excellent as that of Mr. Crake's previous tale. (London: Rivingtons.)

THE Rev. J. H. MacMahon's essay on *Church and State in England* (London: Macintosh) may well make its readers pause if they happen to be among those who, with a lively and good-tempered novelist of our day, regard disestablishment as a simple question, to be settled in a few sentences and disposed of in a couple of debates. We observe in connection with this subject that an American observer,

who writes in the *Fortnightly Review*, does not think that Dissent is making any head against the Church in England.

MANY students will thank us for directing their attention to Mr. France's *Preces Veterum cum Hymnis* (Londini: Low). It contains in small compass a truly choice selection of 'Preces Ordinariæ,' 'Preces Eucharisticæ,' and 'Intercessiones.'

WE are not surprised to find that *Church Seasons* (London: Macintosh) has reached a fourth edition. It is admirably adapted to lead any who have failed to recognize the exceeding value of this mode of teaching to appreciate it. The preservation of the Seasons has always struck us as one of the advantages of Lutheran over Calvinistic Presbyterianism.

The Curate of Shyre (London: King & Co.) was or is (for the tale leaves him alive and well) an earnest young man, who was appointed to a cure of souls in a parish by no means happily circumstanced. The rector was singularly despondent and ungenial, and had quarrelled with both the lawyer and the doctor; the schools were close and unventilated, and the master was rough to his superiors and terribly severe with the children; all good works were at a stand-still, and of necessity spiritual life was correspondingly depressed. Our young friend put all to rights in an astonishingly short space of time. He was geniality itself, and the sons of Themis and of Æsculapius at once became his steadfast allies. An excellent new school-room was built; good agencies of every description were set on foot; and the parish became quite a different sort of place. Now there is much in this narrative with which we can cordially sympathize, and some of the *obiter dicta* are wise and put in a striking manner. We can well believe that its author (Mr. C. Anderson, the Vicar of S. John's, Limehouse) must himself be possessed of many gifts calculated to effect much good, especially in a neglected district. And when we bethink us of the tales of Mrs. Sherwood in days gone by, of Miss Sewell and Miss Yonge in our own time, we have no right to be surprised or to complain, when we find a story written in the interests not of the Low or the High, but of the Broad Church school. Still, though this may be attributed to our prejudices, we had hoped that men of genial temper might be found in *all* our schools of thought. And as for organization, we could at this moment lay down our pen and in less than half-an-hour's walk find ourselves in the centre of a most admirable network of Church agencies, set on foot, superintended, and fostered by a most active clergyman of the Evangelical school; or, again, by turning our steps in a different direction, be brought in contact, in an equally short space of time, with a similarly energetic cycle of operations, started and directed by the zeal of an incumbent of what Americans would call Ritualistic proclivities. Mr. Anderson naturally glorifies his

own school. But was it impossible to find one kind or generous word for those of a different temper? Have Simeon, Cecil, Scott, or, in our days, philanthropists like Lord Shaftesbury, done nothing for our Church and Nation? Is Mr. Beresford Hope stating an untruth when he declares—we quote his *Popular Selections* from his larger work—that ‘the Ritualistic movement has with a peculiar fascination taken possession of a class of society, which has hitherto been painfully unapproachable by the influences of religion?’ We cannot say that, to our thinking, Mr. Anderson is doing the best for his own cause, in displaying this seeming incapacity to recognize good features elsewhere than among his immediate circle of fellow-thinkers.

WE are compelled by the stern pressure of limited space and limited time to leave unnoticed for the present some works, which are probably not inferior to several which sooner reached us. But among volumes of sermons we must say a word in praise of *Early Counsels*, by the Rev. W. M. Hatch (London: Hayes), which seem excellently adapted for a youthful audience, such as that to which they were addressed; also of Mr. John Baines’s small volume (London: Masters) of thoughtful and practical sermons, couched in a pointed and telling style, which might well deserve to attract the attention of a larger and more critical audience than that of Great Marlow; and, lastly, the singularly beautiful pages, βαῖα μὲν, ἀλλὰ ῥόδα—of Mr. Furse’s *Helps to Holiness* (London: Hayes). Cuddesdon is indeed to be congratulated in having the place of such a counsellor as Canon King filled up by the author of this striking little volume. We may name, as a fit companion to Mr. Furse’s volume, a very small but most excellent manual of ‘Devotions for Daily Use’ (London: Masters), edited by the Hon. and Rev. Canon Courtenay, of Bovey Tracey. It will be found a most valuable present for the young of either sex, its tone being very healthy, and also English in the best sense of that word.

SINGLE sermons have either been rare of late or have failed to find their way to our table. We have, however, received an able and thoughtful lay sermon from the pen of Earl Nelson (London: Rivingtons) on *The Present Position of the High Church Party*; and an excellent discourse by the Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Bickersteth (London: Rivingtons), in which the solemn theme of *The Holy Procession* is treated in a spirit worthy of the subject as well as of the audience and the festival (Oxford University on Whit-Sunday), in pages learned, devout, and peace-loving. Mr. Medd, the Rector of Barnes, has also published a sermon of an exceedingly irenical tone on *Catholic Unity*, preached in Westminster Abbey on the anniversary of the Queen’s Accession (London: Skeffington), which we have all the more pleasure in recommending to the notice of our readers, because it must, we trust, be regarded of good augury for the tone of the *Church Quarterly*.

THE REV. DR. Guillemard has put forth an annotated edition of the Gospel of S. Matthew, as a sample of what he proposes to call a *Hebraistic edition* of the entire New Testament (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.) Some of the positions advanced by the author are, we imagine, generally accepted by students of theology. *E.G.*, it is admitted on almost all hands that a really sound knowledge of the Greek of Thucydides and Plato is not a sufficient guarantee for successful criticism of the Hebraized dialect employed by Evangelists and Apostles. Bishop Ellicott somewhere speaks of the failures even of so great scholar as Hermann, when he turned from the page of Sophocles to that of S. Paul. Dr. Guillemard, however, thinks that more may be done in this direction; and he looks through the Greek of the Septuagint to the original Hebrew, and brings the idioms of the latter language to bear upon the Gospels. This task has not been neglected by previous commentators; but our author makes it a *spécialité*, and pursues it with much zeal and industry. So far as we can judge from this specimen, we are inclined to believe it likely to prove a real, and by no means unimportant, contribution to the elucidation of the sacred text. If, as so many good authorities maintain, S. Matthew's Gospel was originally composed in Aramaic, Dr. Guillemard is on safer ground in this part of his task than he will be elsewhere. But he seems to have judgment as well as enthusiasm, and will, we doubt not, look difficulties fairly in the face. We sincerely trust that Dr. Guillemard will receive sufficient encouragement to cheer him onward in his labours.

MUSIC.

ONE of the most inspiring features connected with the recent Church Revival is, doubtless, the increased cultivation of Ecclesiastical Music. Without forgetting for one moment that music may be looked upon as an ornamental portion of Divine worship, or wishing to over-estimate its importance, we cannot but see, in its rapid growth, in the increased interest which both Clergy and Laity are taking in it, in the augmented salaries—though still too small—paid to organists and choir-masters, together with the more urgent demands upon their time, a sure sign that Ecclesiastical Music is being raised to its proper *status* amongst us—now that the day is past when Cathedrals alone had the monopoly of the full choral service—now that the day has arrived when many a Parish Church and many a Mission Chapel can boast of a Service of Praise so rendered as to put to the blush many of the Cathedrals themselves. *Tempora mutantur* in this respect, and our Cathedral choirs will have to change with them, or quietly cede their old position in the vanguard of the Ecclesiastical chorus.

Now, as regards the *quantity* of music which it may, or may not, be desirable to introduce into any of the offices of the Church, we have no wish to pass an opinion. But we desire to say a few

words about the *quality*, and we are naturally led to refer to the services conducted by that school of thought in the Church which, by employing most music, gives us the best chance of being critical. Assuming that, if musical services be allowed at all, it must be right to have choral celebrations of the Holy Communion, we may safely assert that the labours of those who endeavour to adapt the music of the corresponding office in the Continental Churches to our service are a proof of the awakened interest to which we have above referred. Now, let us see what material these compilers have to work upon. The adaptations seem principally drawn from the works of Haydn, Mozart, Weber, Schubert, and Gounod. To any one who has had the chance of attending the solemn celebrations of the Holy Communion at some of the leading London churches, 'Weber in G,' 'Schubert in B \flat ,' and Gounod's 'Messe Solennelle,' as also his 'Mass for Men's Voices,' will be tolerably familiar. Haydn's 'Imperial Mass,' and Mozart's 'First Mass,' have also been not unfrequently sung. One very important result of this practice has been that Communion Services written especially for the Church of England have begun to multiply, and so, amongst a terrible amount of rubbish, we are able to point to such works of good material and very moderate difficulty as 'Garrett in D,' 'Agutter in B \flat ,' and many others; not forgetting Mr. Crowther Alwyn's fine composition in F. (The arrangement of this last is intended for the Roman use, though adapted for our own.)

There is one Mass of Gounod's which we are surprised not to have heard oftener, and that is the one called '*Angeli Custodes*.' It is very simple, wonderfully effective, thoroughly melodious, but skilfully harmonized, and its only fault is, to our minds, that it is too short.

Amongst the Ecclesiastical treasures which of late years have crossed the Channel and found a home with us stands forth most prominently Verdi's 'Requiem Mass,' which those who heard it sung in the Albert Hall last May would, we imagine, never forget. As a musical composition it is sufficiently great; as a dramatic composition (and that all Requiem Masses must to a certain extent possess the dramatic element we most earnestly insist) it is faithful and true; while, as a devotional composition, it is sublime.

Now, here is a Mass which we devoutly hope may never be adapted for the Communion office of the English Church. In the first place, being a Requiem Mass it contains no 'Gloria in Excelsis,' so that the adaptation would have to be very partial. In the second place, every excerpt from it would sound, in a musician's ears, cold and inappropriate. And, in the third place, it is far too difficult, as a rule, to be even moderately well rendered by the best church choir we have ever heard.

But yet, we have absolutely heard of at least one Incumbent who was anxious to perform a part of Verdi's '*Requiem Mass*' in his church on a *High Festival*!

Let us hope that the hands of adapters will long be kept off this exquisite composition; and let us hope, too, that the national love for our Church and her services may prompt some of our own com-

posers to give us such music in our sanctuaries as will do away with the necessity of trimming Roman works for the English altar. For though music be a cosmopolitan art, and the works of the old masters be their legacy to the civilized world, it is not a sign of the truest appreciation of that heritage to turn and twist it to our own purposes : rather let us excite our own talents by the contemplation of the Art gems of bygone years, and so learn to supply the needs of the Church in this land by our own national energy and application.

REVIEWS.

The New Mitre Hymnal, adapted to the Services of the Church of England, with accompanying Tunes. (Rivingtons.)

THE first thing that strikes one on examining this Hymnal is that it is too 'new,' by which we mean that out of rather more than two hundred hymn-tunes there are no less than one hundred that have been composed within the last fifteen years. Now, surely this is rather a large percentage of brand-new tunes in one Hymnal for any congregation to get accustomed to. Nor indeed are the new melodies particularly taking, which would, of course, be an excuse for their introduction. There is absolutely nothing very telling in any of them. Indeed, the most striking feature in the book is the introduction (from the *Anglican Hymn-book*) of Dr. Macfarren's arrangement of the ancient melody 'Adoro Te devotè,' as a modern, barred composition ; and it is not too much to say that the devotional character of this beautiful hymn has been entirely sacrificed by being thus modernized for the benefit (we suppose) of those people who, being desirous of singing Gregorian music, are too lazy to learn the Gregorian modes. The arrangement, whereby every Sunday in the year possesses at least four hymns more or less bearing on the teaching of the day, 'exclusive of morning, evening, and sacramental hymns,' seems highly commendable ; but we should think it would be some time before a congregation would be reconciled to singing—

'Oh, hasten ! oh, hasten !

To worship the Lord,'

in place of the time-honoured—

'O ! come let us adore Him,

Christ the Lord,'

to which we are all so accustomed at Christmas. But, perhaps, as the joyous music which is usually associated with the latter version has had to give way to a tune by Dr. Croft, the editor thinks that the Rev. E. Caswall's translation of the 'Adeste Fideles' may pass unchallenged. In like manner it is also a matter of regret that the Advent Hymn, 'Lo, He comes with clouds descending,' should have been wedded to an unfamiliar melody, however good in itself the music may be. Throughout the book the harmonies are well arranged, one or two awkward modulations only occurring, which it would be invidious to particularize ; always remembering, however, that nowhere does the harmonizing attract attention, either for

grandeur of effect or unusual beauty. In the case of Mr. John Huilah's 'Dies Iræ,' transposed from Bach's 'Choral Gesänge,' the effect, if properly rendered, would doubtless be solemn; but as the voice-part is in unison, the whole would have to depend upon the capabilities of the organist and his instrument.

In conclusion we may remark that the type and get-up of the Hymnal is unexceptionable, and that it is a very convenient size for the organ desk.

A Book of Litanies, Metrical and Prose, with an Evening Service and accompanying Music. (Rivingtons.)

IN spite of most careful editing, and most exhaustive treatment of the subject-matter, so that no village choir who could sing at all could be at a loss to finish their litanies creditably (which alas! is very generally the case with choirs who ought to know better), we doubt if Mr. Hoyte's 'Book of Litanies' will ever, so far as the metrical litanies are concerned, be such a favourite as that by Mr. Redhead; and for this simple reason—that, with one or two exceptions, the melodies are not at all calculated to evoke congregational response. They are not 'pretty' enough. Wherever Mr. Hoyte has been responsible for the harmonies, they are always sound and generally satisfactory, though we must protest against his very bald treatment of the harmonies of the first tune for the 'Litany of Our Lord,' the best known melody probably in the whole collection.

The first Litany for Advent, by Dr. Gauntlett, is perhaps, taken all in all, the most effective of the series. The most useful for congregational purposes will be, in our opinion, the first tune set to the 'Litany of the Resurrection.' But to our mind, by far the best tune in the book is that by Mr. J. Warwick Jordan, which we regret to see is his only contribution.

We now come to the Prose Litanies, which afford similar evidence of painstaking and scholarly treatment; but we doubt whether even such an attractive garb as Mr. Hoyte has here provided for them will ever make Prose Litanies popular in the English Church.

As regards the 'Evening Service,' we have only to record our admiration of the thoroughly satisfactory nature of its compilation and musical accompaniments. The book is decidedly enhanced in value by its handsome type and good paper, and by the very complete system of indices which the editor has introduced.

We are accidentally obliged to withhold, until our next number, a Review of a widely read English work upon the Life of Christ. We greatly regret this, not only on account of the importance justly attached to the extremely popular and interesting volumes in question, but also because it leaves a void in our first issue of elements of thought, which will, we trust, seldom be ignored in any number of the CHURCH QUARTERLY.



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